REPROOF p. 67.

IF you have any thing to object againſt it, do your worſt. You know the Preſs is open.

Licenſed the *1ſt.* of *May*, 1673.

By the Author and Licenſer of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

REPROOF p. 67.

IF you have any thing to object againſt it, do your worſt. You know the Preſs is open.

Licenſed the *1ſt.* of *May*, 1673.

By the Author and Licenſer of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

THE REHEARSALL TRANSPROS'D:

The SECOND PART.

Occaſioned by Two Letters: The firſt Printed, by a nameleſs Author, Intituled, A Reproof, *&c.*

The Second Letter left for me at a Friends Houſe; Dated Nov. 3. 1673. *Subſcribed* J. G. *and concluding with theſe words;* If thou dareſt to Print or Publiſh any Lie or Libel againſt Doctor *Parker*, By the Eternal God I will cut thy Throat.

Anſwered by ANDREW MARVEL

LONDON,
Printed for Nathaniel Ponder *at the* Peacock *in* Chancery Lane *near* Fleet-Street, 1673.

THE REHEARSAL TRANSPROS'D.

The Second Part.

THE *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity* (why not Doctor *Sermon*?) doubts, with ſome reaſon, whether he has not in that Study *loſt his Underſtanding*. To convince himſelf therefore and others of the contrary, he attempts to ſhew here at the beginning, that he not only knows as yet what he does, but remembers ſtill the very circumſtances of his actions. He tells me: *I*

The laſt line of his Preface to the Rep.

Dr. Sermon a quack of thoſe days.

Rep. p. 1. *had heard from him ſooner had he not, immediately after he undertook my Correction, been prevented by a dull and lazy diſtemper; but being now recruited,* &c. Sooner or later imports not, it comes much to the ſame account. No Naturaliſt has determin'd the certain time of a Mountains pregnancy, how long it goes before it be deliver'd: but one has told us what kind of Child it always produces. And as for his dull and lazy Diſtemper, the Courteſie was no leſs ſuperfluous to inform me of what moſt men have been long ſince fully ſatisfyed upon undeniable Teſtimony. What is the World concern'd in the Revolutions of his health, or the courſes of Phyſick that he runs through at Spring and Fall? *Plutarch* indeed gives us the Minutes of *Alexander* the *Great*'s ſickneſs after his laſt debauch; and the *Dutch* Hiſtorian *Aytzema* is ſo punctual in the late *Prince of Oranges* malady, as even to Chronicle in Folio what days he did *externere Dura*, when *Fœtida*, and when *Fœces laudabiles*. What then? Muſt it therefore follow that this *Orange* Doctor

&or by having commenced in this Princes Train, is grown so considerable, that the *Temper of his mind*, the *Juncture of his Affairs*, and the *State of his Body* should be transmitted to posterity? That after Ages must read in what Moon his invention was fluent, and in what *Epocha*, costive? That as in his late Preface he enter'd his *closer Importance* upon Record, so in this voluminous Pamphlet his close Stool too should be Regist'red? But suppose he were of such Moment, he is too hard put to it, and but ill befriended, that he must do himself that Office. Was there not one true *English* Man left to help him? Ungrateful World, that when he has *lost his Labour and Understanding* in writing them an *Ecclesiastical Polity*, would not afford him some other Pen for his own Ecclesiastical History. But he is so self-sufficient, and an *At-all* of so many capacities, that he would Excommunicate any Man who should have presumed to intermeddle so far within his Province. Has he been an Author? he is too the Licenser.

The last line of Pref. to Rep.

Has he been a Father? he will ſtand too for God-father. Is he then to be marryed? he asks his own Banes in Print. And now after he thinks himſelf cured, and in Wedding and Writing caſe, he cannot forbear nevertheleſs but he muſt be publiſhing his diſeaſes. Had he Acted *Pyramus* he would have been *Moon-ſhine* too, and the *Hole in the Wall*. That firſt *Author of Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, *Nero* was of the ſame temper. He could not be contented with the *Roman Empire* unleſs he were too his own *Præcentor*; and he in the ſame manner, out of meer Charity, when he apprehended death, lamented only the detriment that Mankind muſt ſuſtain in loſing ſo conſiderable a Fidler. When a Man is once poſſeſs'd with this Fanatick kind of Spirit, he imagines, if a Shoulder do but itch, that the World has gall'd it with leaning on't ſo long and therefore he wiſely ſhrugs to remove the Globe to the other. If he chance but to ſneeze, he ſalutes himſelf, and courteouſly prays that the *Foundations of the Earth* be not ſhaken. And even

ſo

ſo *the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, ever ſince he crept up to be but the Weather-cock of a Steeple, he trembles and creaks at every puff of Wind that blows him about, as if the *Church of* England *were falling, and the State totter'd.* And then after Men are once come to miſtake themſelves as ſo neceſſary, it is no wonder if they impute it for a great Obligation, as oft as they condeſcend to give the Publick an account of their Privacies. There is not any ſo undecent Circumſtance of their life but they think it worthy to be committed to Paper, and, foul as it is, yet they forthwith ſend it away to the Printer. And now all Chriſtendom doubtleſs has taken notice that *the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity* has lain in of a dull and lazy diſtemper, and to be ſure the Eccleſiaſticks of his faculty have deeply Sympathized with his condition. The News will, after the rebound of ſome Months, reach *Conſtantinople* and *Agra*; and as ſoon as they hear of his recovery, the *Mufti* and the *Mulla* will certainly ſend to congratulate him.

But however he has methinks not dealt so kindly herein with his native Country, as their universal concernment for him might have deserved. For though indeed there must needs be a mighty profit upon the exportation of his Book, and those especially beyond the Line will think it a great advantage to buy the account of his health at any rate with so large a Volume into the bargain; yet he might out of gratitude to our curiosity have advertis'd us at home the cheaper way, by the same Gazette in which he cries his Book to make it Vendible. Whereas the inserting it thus in so thick an *Octavo*, is a most palpable project upon Mens affections, and next to imposing his Book upon the Church-wardens of every Parish, and the Chapters of all the Cathedrals. As well as Men love him, yet they desire not that his Sickness should be as chargeable to the Countrey as a Visitation. Nay, even the Clergy scruple at the Price, and take it ill that as oft as their Arch-deacon comes abroad again in Print, they should be oblig'd in this

manner

manner to pay Procurations and Synodals. But of all Men it falls moſt ſeverely upon the Non-conformiſts, who having been exhauſted with ſo many other penalties formerly, cannot ſo well afford to buy their Penance ſo dear, and take off his Books every Year in Commutation. 'Tis true, he has been kind to them, and to ſuch a degree, that he hath done more ſervice to their Cauſe by writing againſt it, than all their own Authors that ever writ for them. But that therefore being ſo contrary to his intention, the Accident diminiſhes the Courteſie. And if yet for *old acquaintance* ſake they could be content to give ſomewhat for *a Book in ſome places erroneous, in ſome places ſcarce ſenſe, and of ill Conſequence*; they compute that if *the Reproof to the Rehearſal Tranſpros'd in a Diſcourſe to its Author by the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Policy* be of the ſame Nature, and at the ſame price, it is however better of the two to buy an *Engliſh* Bible with all its faults. He is return'd to be a *Precious Man* indeed, more precious then ever heretofore at

Gregory p. 104. *concerning the* Engliſh *Bible.*

the Univerſity; if ſince he aroſe to be *the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, a poor Fanatick that has been of his intimacy cannot be inform'd how he does under the prodigal expence of Five Shillings.

He cannot ſure take it unkindly if I enter into a further conſultation of the Nature of his indiſpoſition and the remedies; ſeeing he has ſo voluntarily intereſſed me therein, and his Readers. For the Officious always ſpring game to the Curious. The Diſeaſe being as he relates ſo dull and lazy, I ſhould think at firſt that it might have been a Lethargy, and whereas he imagines himſelf recruited, that he has only in order to a Cure (as is uſual in that caſe) been caſt into a Feaver. For he has forgot himſelf moſt extreamly, and his whole diſcourſe, as proceeding from a Man in the confines of two ſo contrary diſtempers, partakes all thorow equally of Stupidity and Raving.

But when I reflect further upon the Symptoms, and his deſcription, it ſeems more probably to be the *Abelteria*, a Greek

Greek diſcompoſure, and to which thoſe of his conſtitution are generally ſubject. The malignity of this affects the Mind rather than the Body, and therefore lies further beyond the reach of Phyſick. When once it takes a Man he is deſperate, and there is no more poſſibility of his recovery; nor is that ſtrange, it being the property of thoſe that have it by how much they grow worſe to conceive always that they are in a better Condition.

Some indeed will have it, that under thoſe Terms of a dull and lazy diſtemper he calumniates a more active and ſtirring Diſeaſe, (as the Spleen and the Scurvy do oftentimes bear the blame of another infirmity) and that it is no *Grecian* malady but derives its name from a Countrey much nearer. But that *Diſtemper is ſo unſuitable to the Civility of his Education, and the Gravity of his Profeſſion*, that I queſtion much whether it could be *ſo Clowniſh and Licentious* (bold though it be) *to accoſt* a Perſonage of his Figure and Character. Yet who knows after that new Rep. p. 1.

new *Alliance* in the Year 1665. betwixt Nature and Divinity, that amorous ſeaſon of his *Tentamina Phyſico-Theologica*, (if he were the Author) whether his Nature may not have given his Divinity the ſlip, and running its own random have met with ſome miſadventure? For even then he had learnt how *Ariſtotle* Worſhiped his Wench under ſhow of Sacrificing to a Goddeſs. He inform'd us ſo early how *Stilpo* diſputing before the *Arcopagites*, that *Minerva* could not be a God, becauſe ſhe was a Woman, and therefore a Goddeſs; *Theodorus* ſomewhat ſmuttily ask'd him, whether he had ſeen her without her Shift. And this reparty of *Theodorus* he recommends there for ſo ingenious, that he ranks it among his Colours, why that Philoſopher, who call'd himſelf God, ſhould not be counted an Atheiſt; Though I can ſcarce diſcern any more Wit or Theology in it then in his own Argument lately among a Knot of eminent Divines, the Women being preſent; that the reſt of the Clergy-Mens Wives were but Diſh-clouts, his own

Tent. Phyſ. P. 2.

Tent. Phyſ. P. 14.

own a Goddeſs; and they had been perfectly quit, had but *Stilpo* now *cap'd Theodorus*, by telling him that they were all however no more then needed to ſcowre his Mouth after ſo ſlovenly a compariſon. In the ſame Book he demonſtrates at large how impoſſible it was (though *Epicurus* his Opinion) for Mankind to be produced at firſt from certain Veſicles or Pimples of the Earth. You would wonder to ſee how ſolidly and elaborately, with what *dint* of *Reaſon* he confutes ſo dangerous an Hereſy, to the great inſtruction doubtleſs, and advantage of Sir *John Hinton*, and Doctor *Chamberlain*. Then he takes their Office out of their Hands, and proceeds immediately to read a publick Lecture of the Figure and Uſe of the Veſſels of Generation, and more eſpecially thoſe of the Female. Like a forward Chick he pecks through Doctor *Harveys* Egg-ſhell, and tells us that moſt famous Phyſician was not ſo cunning as he ſhould have been in the chief Myſtery of the ſeminal buſineſs. At laſt this bluſhing Gentleman, this very Picture of modeſty,

Tent. Phyſ. from p. 68. *to* p. 77. & p. 112.

Tent. Phyſ. from p. 99. *to* p. 108.

Tent. Phyſ. p. 106.

Repr. 227.

deſty, in open terms undertakes to explain the pleaſure annex'd to the Act of Procreation, and is ſo tickled with the imagination (preſaging too perhaps, that it might ere long be his fortune to dine with a God (ſo he ſtiles the Archbiſhop and bed a Goddeſs, (ſo he calls his Miſtreſs) that although he cenſures *Lucretius* for ſpeaking ſo broad, yet he cannot refrain from uſing his own Words, *that 'twas ſo exceſſively ſweet, as to be the ſolace not only of Mankind, but the Deities.* And all this ſtir is there made by the preſent *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, in order forſooth to prove Gods providence, as if that could not be, or were not ſufficiently evidenced without his *Goſſiping* collections of naked Midwifery. Inſomuch that one who underſtood not beyond his Latine, might juſtly doubt, whether by the *Tentamina Phyſico-Theologica* he meant indeed the Eſſays of his Divinity, or the Temptations of his Nature. Neither can it in Reaſon ſeem ſtrange if the vigorous and frequent contemplation of ſuch Objects tranſported him further, and her too

Tent. Phyſ. p. 108.

Hominumque Divum voluptas.

as

as well as other Creatures might (to use his own Phrase) *out of that vehement and unbridled concupiscence rush in furias ignemq*; thorow Fire and Water upon a dangerous experiment against the *Pimples of the Earth and Paracelsus* his Limbeck. For he himself in succeeding Book (said to be his) *the censure of the Platonick Philosophy* confesses; *that if in any respect Virtue and Religion intrench upon the liberty of our Natures, 'tis in the Instances of sensuality, and that when the man is divided from the Beast, and his Reason seperated from the inferiour und bruitish appetites, then arise irregular and unreasonable desires*, &c. so that by his own acknowledgment, it is not impossible but the Man in him may at some time have been obliged to carry the brute a *pick a pack*. Only there is this difference betwixt his Beast and others, that his mind, it seems, is more subject to irregular and unreasonable desires when abstracted within it self whereas the Reason of other Men suffers most in conjunction with the inferiour and brutish appetites. So that although in the same Book

Tent. Phys. p. 105.

Tent. Phys. p. 73.

Cens. Plat. phil. p. 211.

Book he magnifies those spruce Gentlemen the *Platonists*, *as being professedly the most generous contemners of Women in the World*; and affirms, *that their amours* (for they were accus'd of Sodomy) *were not kindled by lust and petulancy, but were pure and cleanly enough to become Angels, and separated Souls*; though in the usual pompous explication of his own perfections he glories; *that he hath tasted less of sensual delights than he thinks any one placed in the said circumstances and capacities; for he hath hitherto scarce imploy'd any of his Senses but that of seeing*; notwithstanding all those preventive insinuations, I see no reason to trust him further then I would the Curate of *Ikham*, with his Maid Mary *Parker*. But I rather suspect that where he stops short in the carreer of a Sentence, *that he thinks nothing concerns him so much as those designs that aspire to serve his dearest* --- the rest was Bawdy. For though he were on the Rode to *Canterbury*, let any Female but cross his Way, 'tis odds that his Beast will stumble, and throw his Arch-deaconship in the Cart-rut, with his whole

Cens. Pl. Phil. p. 19.

Cens. Pl. Phil. p. 15.

Cens. Pl. Pb. p. 123.

Tri-

Tridentine Portmantle of Polity and Theology. Yet though I ſpeak theſe things with ſome certainty, to evidence them to others would require a more difficult ſcrutiny. For whatſoever 'twas that befell him, he has been ſo concern'd of late to ſtop all Avenues, and every Cranny of Intelligence, that were he to paſs through the diſcipline of ſweating, there could not have been more ſtrictneſs about the Doors and the Windows. And then his Phyſicians on the other ſide are ſhut up as cloſe by the Obligation of their Faculty, having all of them ſworn ſecrecy to *Hippocrates*. Neither is it indeed at firſt ſight probable that if he were ſo obnoxious to them, one of *ſo ſweet a Nature* ſhould ſo openly declare himſelf againſt the Non-conformiſts. Had he been cured by a *Few*, ſo great a Prince as the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity* would ſurely, either out of his Clemency or his Wiſdom, have been gracious to the whole Tribe, and for his Doctors ſake have at leaſt conniv'd at their Synagogue. He is not the firſt that *Phyſ.* has whiſper'd

out

Rehearſal Comedy. p. 17, 18.

out of his Kingdom: And yet if he thought the matter once ſecured from diſcovery, I queſtion much whether any other tie could hold him. For I know none ſo looſe from all the reſtri-ctions of Humanity as ſome within his Girdle, and were there a Court of Faculties for that purpoſe he could not take out more ample diſpenſations from common Ingenuity and Gratitude. So that there could not have been more conformity betwixt the Perſon and the Diſeaſe, and an *Implacable Divine* could never be better fitted than with that diſtemper which his *Italian* Author can tell him does ſometimes make Truce, but never admits a Pacification. But he is I perceive a very *Secret one*, in another ſenſe then formerly, and perhaps did only publiſh his malady, the better to diſguiſe it: So that I will not out of reſpect preſs this Point further. If he ſhould by giving ſo partial an account fail of a Cure, he is the more excuſable; for it will have been the firſt time that his Modeſty did him prejudice. Yet this caution for humanity's ſake

-Fa tregua ma non mai pace.

sake I would leave with him; that he trust not too much to the Asses Milk in his *Hicringills Dispensatory*; for every one knows that if he have no better Specifick, he will ever and anon be troubled with the Reliques. *Grre.* p. 119

But whatever old mischief may possibly lurk in his Body; I am told by one, who pretends to the best intelligence, that this was a new Disease, which spred much through the Nation about last Autumn. I hear not that any dyed of it, and therefore its name is not yet read of in the Bills of Mortality. To be short, as I am certainly inform'd, he was sick of *the Rehearsal Transpros'd*. Then indeed the *Rehearsal Transpros'd* deserv'd a *Reproof*, for exceeding its Commission, I am sorry it that should occasion a distemper, which I ordered as Physick; the *Rehearsal Transpros'd* being too only a particular prescription in his case, and not to be applyed to others without special direction. But some curious persons would be licking at it, and most Men finding it not distastful to the

Palate, it grew in a ſhort time to be of common uſe in the Shops. I perceive that it wrought a ſenſible alteration in all that took it; but varying in ſome for the better, in others for the worſe, according to the difference of their Complexions. Some were ſwoln up to the Throat, ſome their Heads turn'd round, and others it made their Hearts ake; but all theſe were but a few in number; moſt Men found only a little tingling in their Ears, and after its greateſt violence it diſcharged it ſelf in an innocent fit of unceſſant laughter. But the greateſt harm it did was to the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, for whoſe good it was principally intended: For before he had half taken it, his ſpirits began to fail him, and it put him paſt not only *the common drudgeries* of Preaching and reading Prayers; but thoſe other things too which he ſtiles *the innocent comforts of Humane life.* So that he laid it by for a conſiderable time, and was reſolv'd to have taken no more of it; finding it ſo contrary to his Nature. In that interval,

val; his Humours being ſtir'd, the pre-domineering Choler in a ſhort time diffus'd it ſelf ſo through his Body Eccleſiaſtick, that it ſtruck him into a deep Jaundice; and his Soul ſeem'd to have ſet up a guilt Vehicle of the new Lacker. The great little Animal was on a ſudden turn'd ſo Yellow, and grown withall ſo unwieldy, that he might have paſt currant for the Elephant upon a Guinny. For as he had long ſince foretold, *having been ſo inconſiderate as to write Books, and ſain ſo lately under the ſevere laſh of one that knew him not*, it was his concurring misfortune to be now *expoſed to the ſeverer commands of thoſe that knew him.* The cauſe was at preſent much altered from what in his Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall*, and over and above the importunity of the Bookſeller, he was now obliged to write in Canonical obedience. But his Yellow Coſſe rendred him very unfit to appear in publick, and being troubled thus with the Jaundice, and under a neceſſity of exerciſing at the ſame time all the remainders yet left him of Reaſon,

Conf. Pl. Phil. p. 12

Wit or Invention, 'tis probable that he found indeed cause to complain of a dull and lazy distemper, and now too late repented, *that he had sold himself into so great a slavery.* However having driven himself into that Condition he must now needs go through with his task; and therefore the time too being limited, he hastened to bring himself in plight by such common remedies as were next to hand, writing too all the while by girds and snatches hand over head. His other self *Hieringill* (who seems very well informed of all his distempers, and of this particularly) had told him that a Louse was good against the Jaundice, and the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Policy* himself had for all Events the *Sacrament of Lowsiness* by him of his own preparation: So that this being much easier to be procured then the Tribute of Fleas was to be collected, there is no doubt to be made, but that he tryed the Vertue of this Medicine. And as the *Tartars* cracking the same Vermine with their Teeth, are used to wish solemnly

Cens. Pl. Phil. p. 1.

Ecc. p. 112.

emnly, that they had their Enemies
t the like advantage; ſo methinks I
ee how he ſnapp'd them e're they
ot down, and ever anon prayed be-
wixt the teeth for the Non-confor-
miſts. But he had heard how his old
cquaintance Doctor *Rabelais*, upon
xamination for his degree, anſwer'd,
hat if his *Gargantua* were ſick he
ould preſcribe him *Pilulas Evan-*
elicas, ex centum libris Aloes &
Myrrhæ. He computed thence, that
his own caſe the Doſe muſt be
roportionable betwixt the Civil and
he Eccleſiaſtical Giant. And if ſo,
hat though all Priſons ſhould be de-
opulated, though *Beggars-buſh* pil-
g'd, though the *Phthiriaſes* of all
rmer perſecutors revived, yet the
uantity would not be ſufficient; but
once the Incenſe of all *Arabia* was
ent on one Funerall, ſo the Lice of
l the World muſt be conſumed upon
s malady: But what he moſt conſi-
r'd was, that this muſt neceſſarily
d in an utter diſſolution of the Go-
rnment of the *Phthirophagi*, and that
ntrary to all good Eccleſiaſtical Po-

lity, the *Presidents of the sacred Rites* (f
the other orders of Men twas less ma
ter) should in reference to his cure be d
priv'd of that *lean and slender subsisten*
which was yet left them. This woul
have been a Sacrilege greater, becau
more universal than to have rifled t
Louse out of St. *Francis* his Boso
So that upon this *Algebra* an
prospect, he desisted at last fro
the Lousy Diet, part out of h
good Nature, part out of his Co
science, and partly out of Impossibil
ty And had he at the same time bet
ken himself in good earnest to the *Ex*
tractum Apostoli of Faith, Hope, an
Charity, as a *Succedaneum*, (for even h
Greg. p. 93 second *Rabelais*, Doctor *Hieringill* re
ders them equivalent to a Louse he h
been certainly cured both Mind an
Body. But some doubt there is that h
Rep. p. 21. *Shop-Divines* have not the right Co
position of that medicine. However
was not now in case or disposition
take it; and the *Rehea sal Transpros*
which after many a grimasse he h
now at last gulp'd down, had so terrib
disorder'd him, that he had quite fo

got there was any ſuch remedy in the ancient *Praxis* of Chriſtianity. But this Gentleman of *So tame*, if you will believe him, *and ſoftly an Humour of ſo cold a Complexion, that he Scarſe thinks himſelf capable of hot and paſſionate impreſſions*; he that is only offended at *them who will not ſuffer themſelves to be embraced by thoſe whoſe unbounded embraces would comprehend all*, and *quanquam alias præmitis ſit indolis*, was altered beyond all imagination. I cannot determine whether I being but a new unlicenſed Practitioner, and the *Rehearſal Tranſpros'd* my firſt experiment, there might be ſome errour in the preparation, and it were too *ſtrong of the Minerall*, or whether indeed it were the extraordinary foulneſs of his Stomack. But it hath brought up ſuch ulcerous ſtuff as never was ſeen; and whereas I intended it only for a *Diaphoretick* to caſt him into a breathing ſweat, it hath had upon him all the effects of a Vomit. Turnep-tops, Frogs, rotten Eggs, Braſs-coppers, Graſhoppers, Pins, Muſhromes, *&c.* wrapt up together in ſuch balls of Slime

Pref. to Ec. Pol. p. 1.

Cenſ. Pl. Phil. p. 25.

Tent. Phyr: p. 109.

and Choler, that they would have burſt the Dragon, and in good earneſt ſeem to have ſomething ſupernatural. Inſomuch that he ſeems not ſo fit at preſent for the Archdeacons Seat as to take his place below in the Church among the *Energumeni*. But it is poſſible that after ſo notorious an evacuation, he may do better for the future; and it is more then viſible that either his Diſeaſe or his Nature cannot hold out much longer. Therefore I ſhall not grudge from time to time to lend him my beſt aſſiſtance, though I hope that this Iteration will do his buſineſs, and carry off all the dregs of his diſtemper. And now from what I have ſaid hitherto, and that I may begin ſo far an accommodation betwixt us, I ſhall if he pleaſe recant and yield that *the aſſwaging his Concupiſcenſe, and wreaking his malice, has been the higheſt Pinacle of his Eccleſiaſtical in-felicity.*

Having treated him in as ſhort a method as ſo Chronical a malady would admit, I ſhall now be inforced to remove ſome dirt, that I may make

make my way cleaner to come at him: for otherwiſe there is no paſſing, but then I ſhall quickly have diſpatch'd with him. He ſaith, *I have cowardly and diſhonourably accoſted him in ſuch a clowniſh and licentious way of writing as I knew to be unſuitable both to the Civility of his Education, and the Gravity of his Profeſſion.* Repr. p. 1. I thought I had in the cloſe of my former book, and all thorow ſufficiently ſatisfy'd him of the reaſons and way of my proceeding with him: but ſeeing he hath it ſeems ſo ſoon forgot them (as men willingly do, what it is grievous to remember) I ſhall now at more leiſure refreſh his memory, and deduce the order of my thoughts upon that and this occaſion.

Thoſe that take upon themſelves to be Writers, are moved to it either by Ambition or Charity: imagining that they ſhall do therein ſomething to make themſelves famous, or that they can communicate ſomething that may be delightful and profitable to mankind. But therefore it is either

way

way an envious and dangerous imployment. For, how well ſoever it be intended, the World will have ſome pretence to ſuſpect, that the Author hath both too good a conceit of his own ſufficiency, and that by undertaking to teach them, he implicitly accuſes their ignorance. So that not to Write at all is much the ſafer courſe of life: but if a mans Fate or *Genius* prompt him otherwiſe, 'tis neceſſary that he be copious in matter, ſolid in reaſon, methodical in the order of his work; and that the ſubject be well choſen, the ſeaſon well fixed, and, to be ſhort, that his whole production be matur'd to ſee the light by a juſt courſe of time, and judicious deliberation. Otherwiſe, though with ſome of theſe conditions he may perhaps attain commendation; yet without them all he cannot deſerve pardon. For indeed whoſoever he be that comes in Print whereas he might have ſate at home in quiet, does either make a Treat, or ſend a Chalenge to all Readers; in which caſes, the firſt, it concerns him

him to have no ſcarcity of Proviſions, and in the other to be compleatly Arm'd : for if any thing be amiſs on either part, men are ſubject to ſcorn the weakneſs of the Attaque, or laugh at the meanneſs of the Entertainment. In concluſion, the Author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* hath in his own particular very fully ſtated and comprehended this whole matter. For he ſaith here in his Preface to the Reader, that *if his Book have any effect* (I ſuppoſe he means any good effect) *he hath a double reward*; (that is both the publick and his private ſatisfaction; *but if it have none* (that is impoſſible) *that then he hath his own reward*; (that is ſure to be accounted none of the wiſeſt) and indeed this Reward too is double; for if he fails of his deſign, he ſaith *he muſt confeſs that he has loſt both his Labour and his Underſtanding*. This is the common condition to which every man that will Write a Book muſt be content with patience to ſubmit. *Pref. to Rep. p. penult.* *Pref. Rep. p. ult.*

But, among all the differences of writing, he that does publiſh an Invective,

ctive, does it at his utmoſt peril, and 'tis but juſt that it ſhould be ſo. For a mans Credit is of ſo natural and high concernment to him, that the preſerving of it better, was perhaps none of the leaſt inducements at firſt to enter into the bonds of Society, and Civil Governmeut; as that Government too muſt at one time or other be diſſolved where mens Reputation cannot be under Security. 'Tis dearer than life it ſelf, and (to uſe a thought ſomething perhaps too delicate, yet not altogether unreaſonable) if beſide the Laws of Murther men have thought fit, out of reſpect to humane nature, that whatſoever elſe moves to the death of man ſhould be forfeit to pious uſes, why ſhould there not as well be Deodands for Reputation? And this I intend not only of thoſe who publiſh ignominious falſhoods, to whom no Quarter ought to be granted, but even of ſuch partly who by a truth too officious ſhall procure any mans infamy. For 'tis better that evil men ſhould be left in an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their

their repute, how unjuſtly ſoever they may have acquired it, then that the Exchange and Credit of mankind ſhould be univerſally ſhaken, wherein the beſt too will ſuffer and be involved. It is one thing to do that which is juſtifiable, but another that which is commendable, and I ſuppoſe every prudent Writer aims at both: but how can the Author of an Invective, though never ſo truely founded, expect approbation (unleſs from ſuch as love to ſee miſchief at other mens expence) who, in a world all furniſhed with ſubjects of praiſe, inſtruction and learned inquiry, ſhall ſtudiouſly chuſe and ſet himſelf apart to comment upon the blemiſhes and imperfections of ſome particular perſon? Such men do ſeldom miſs too of *their own reward*: for whereas thoſe that treat of innocent and benign argument are repreſented by the *Muſes*, they that make it their buſineſs to ſet out others ill-favouredly do paſs for *Satyres*, and theinſelves are ſure to be perſonated with prick-ears, wrinkled horns, and cloven feet.

Yet

Yet if for once to write in that ſtile may be lawful, diſcreet or neceſſary, to do it a ſecond time is lyable to greater Cenſure. Not ſo much becauſe the After-meath ſeldom or never equals the firſt Herbage; (a Caution not unfit however for all Authors) as that by-ſtanders will begin then to ſuſpect, that what they look'd on firſt as an accident with ſome divertiſement, do's rather proceed from a natural malignity of temper. For few Readers are ſo ill natured but that they are quickly tired with perſonal and paſſionate diſcourſes; and when the contest comes to be continued and repeated, if they intereſs themſelves at all, they uſually incline think that the juſtice lies on the weaker ſide. But whether the laſt appeal of Writers lie to the Readers or to a Mans own ultimate Recollection, this Invective way cannot be truly ſatisfactory either to themſelves or others. For it is a prædatory courſe of life, and indeed but a privateering upon reputation; wherein all that ſtock of Credit, which an honeſt Man perhaps hath all his age

been

been toyling for, is in an hour or two's reading plunder'd from him by a Freebooter. So that whatsoever be the success, he that chances in these Contests to be Superiour, can at best (for that too is disputable) be accounted of the two the less unfortunate. And certainly (as it was usual of old for any Man who had but casually acted in an unlucky rencounter) he that hath had his Pen once in the Reputation of another, ought to withdraw, and disappear for some time till he has undergone and past through all the Ceremonies of Expiation.

But if the Credit of all Men whatsoever be, and ought to be so well guarded both by Nature, Law, and Discretion, the Clergy certainly of all others ought to be kept and preserv'd sacred in their Reputation. For they being Men of the same Spirit with others, and no less subject to Humane Passions, but confined within the regularity of their Function; It is indeed unmanly, whatsoever scuffle others may make among themselves, so vilifie or treat them with those affronts

affronts which nothing but the respect of Decency or Conscience could hinder them from resenting as well as others. But (which is more considerable) whoever too shall fix upon them an ill report, do's thereby frustrate the very effect of their ministry in proportion. For though Baptism is not to be vacated by the contrary intention of him that officiates, yet few Men will or can be perswaded by his Doctrine, whose practice they conceive to be opposite. A conversation differing from Doctrine is Spiritual Nonsence: Neither will Men believe by the Ear, when their Eye informs them otherwise. If an Artificer indeed make his Work fit for Mens wearing, 'tis sufficient: Or if he that Sells have good of the kind, Men inquire no further. No Mans Shooe wrings him the more because of the Heterodoxy, or the tipling of his Shooe-maker: And a Billet burns as well though bought of whatsoever Wood-monger: But the Clergy being Men dedicate by their Vocation to teach what is Truth, what Falsh[illegible]od,

to deter men from vice, and lead them unto all virtue; 'tis expected from them, and with good reason, that they should define their opinion by their manners. And therefore men ought to be chary of aspersing them on either account, but even reflect upon their failings with some reverence. A Clergy-man ought to have treble damages both for his Tithes and his Credit: and it were to be wish'd that with the same ease that their maintenance comes in from the fruits of mens labour, they had too no less proportion out of the yearly increase of every mans Reputation: the rest would thrive the better for it. Their virtues are to be celebrated with all incouragement: and, if their vices be not notoriously palpable, let the Eye as it defends its Organ, so conceal the Object by Connivence.

And yet nevertheless, and all that has been said before being granted, it may so chance that to write, and that Satyrically, and that a second time and a third, and this too even against a Clergy-man, may be not only excu-

ſable but neceſſary. That I may ſpare a tedious recapitulation, I ſhall prove all the reſt upon the ſtrongeſt inſtance, that is in the caſe of a Clergyman. For it is not impoſſible that a man by evil arts may have crept into the Church, thorow the Belfry or at the Windows. 'Tis not improbable that having ſo got in he ſhould ſoul the Pulpit, and afterwards the Preſs with opinions deſtructive to Humane Society and the Chriſtian Religion. That he ſhould illuſtrate ſo corrupt Doctrines with as ill a converſation, and adorn the laſciviouſneſs of his life with an equal petulancy of ſtile and language. In ſuch a concurrence of miſdemeanors what is to be done? Why certainly, how pernicious ſoever this muſt be in the example and conſequence, yet, before any private man undertake to obviate it, he ought to expect the judgment of the Dioceſan and the method of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. There was in the ancient times of Chriſtianity a wholſome uſage, but now obſolete, which went very far in preventing all theſe occaſions,

sions. For whosoever was to receive Ordination, his name was first published to the Congregation in the same way as the Banes of those that enter into Matrimony: and if any could object a sufficient cause against him that was proposed, he was not to be admitted to the Ministry. He that would be a Preacher was to be first himself commented upon by the People, and in the stile of those ages was said *Prædicari*. But since that circumspection has been devolved into the single oversight of the later Bishops, it cannot be otherwise, but some one or other may sometimes escape into the Church, who were much fitter to be shut out of Doors. Yet then if our great Pastors should but exercise the Wisdom of common Shepheards, by parting with one to stop the infection of the whole Flock, when his rottenness grew notorious; or if our Clergy would but use the instinct of other creatures, and chase the blown Deer out of their Heard; such mischiefs might quickly be remedied. But on the contrary it happens not

seldome that this necessary duty (which is so great a part of true *Ecclesiastical Politie*) is not only neglected, but that persons so dangerous are rather incouraged by their Superiors, and he that, upon their omission, shall but single out one of them, yet shall be exposed to the general out-cry of the Faculty, and be pursued with Bell, Book, and Candle, as a declared and publick enemy of the Clergy. Whereas they ought to consider that by this way of proceeding, they themselves do render that universal which was but individual, and affix a personal crime upon their whole Order, and, for want of separating from one obnoxious, do contribute to the causes of separation, justifying so far that Schism which they condemn. In this Case, and supposing such a failer of justice in those whose Province it is to prevent or punish, I ask again what is to be done? Why certainly the next thing had been to admonish him in particular as a Friend does his Friend, or one Christian another. But he that hath once Printed an ill book has thereby

thereby condens'd his words on purpose lest they should be carried away by the wind; he has diffused his poyson so publickly in design that it might be beyond his own recollection; and put himself deliberately past the reach of any private admonition. In this Case it is that I think a Clergy-man is laid open to the Pen of any one that knows how to manage it; and that every person who has either Wit, Learning or Sobriety is licensed, if debauch'd to curb him, if erroneous to catechize him, and if foul-mouth'd and biting, to muzzle him. For they do but abuse themselves who shall any longer consider or reverence such an one as a Clergy-man, who as oft as he undresses degrades himself and would never have come into the Church but to take Sanctuary. Rather, wheresoever men shall find the footing of so wanton a Satyr out of his own bounds, the neighbourhood ought, notwithstanding all his pretended capering Divinity, to hunt him thorow the woods with hounds and horn home to his harbour.

How far and whether at all the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* is culpable on these accounts, I must refer to the Readers judgment upon perusal of my first and this my second book, though I could much rather wish that men would be at leisure to take the length of him out of his own discourses. But, had he not appear'd so to me, I should never have molested him, adventur'd my self, or interessed the Publick by writing in this manner. For I am too conscious of mine own imperfections to take into and dilate upon the failings of other men; and though I carry always some ill Nature about me, yet it is I hope no more than is in this world necessary for a Preservative; but as for the Clergy, the memory of mine own extraction, and much more my sense of the Sanctity of their function ingage me peculiarly to esteem and honour them. Insomuch that for their sakes I bear much respect even to their *poor* wives, of whom I may say (as Bishop *Bramhall* comparing the Readers with the Preachers, and who understood both) that

if

if they come short of other Women *in point of Efficacy, yet they have the advantage* of other Women *in point of Security.* And though I am not so inamour'd of them as to worship 'em for *Goddesses*; yet I am so far from rejecting them as *Dish-clouts*, that what the *Author of Eccles. Politie* affirms of the Clergy of the Church of *England, I dare averre* concerning their Wives, *that taking them under all their disadvantages they are at this very time vastly the furthest off from being justly contemptible (to mention no other Order or Profession of Women) of any Clergy-mens wives in the world. The pre-eminence is so evident that it clears the comparison from all possible suspition of being proud or odious.*

B. *Bramh Vind.* p. 160. & 161.

Pref. to B Bramh. 4 1

Being of this temper there could be no great appearance of my being overforward to come out in Print in such a Stile against one of his cloath, unless upon some very extraordinary occasion. And such this occasion seemed to me, and so urgent and justifiable that it might absolve me in any Readers opinion. For this sharpness of

Stile does indeed for the most part naturally flow from the humour of the Writer: and therefore 'tis observable that few are guilty of it but either those that write too young, (when it resembles the acidity of juices strain'd from the fruits before they be matured) or else those that write too old (and then 'tis like the sowrness of liquors which being near corrupting turn eager) And both these are generally disrellish'd: or if men do admit them for sawce, yet he must be very thirsty that will take a draught of 'm; whereas the generousest wine drops from the grape naturally without pressing, and though piquant hath its sweetness. And though I cannot arrogate so much as even the similitude of those good qualities to my Writing, yet I dare say that never was there a more pregnant ripeness in the causes. For having read one, two, three, and now four books of the same Author, and of the same subject, which was no less then that weighty matter of *Ecclesiastical Politie* and all its dependances, I observed first, that there was no name

to them; a thing of very ill example, For every one that will treat of so nice and tender argument ought to affix his name, thereby to make himself responsible to the publick for any dammage that may arise by his undertaking. Otherwise though he has a Licenſe in his pocket, or he perhaps himself the Licenſer, it is but a more authoriz'd way of libelling, and it looks too like a man that ſhall lay a train of Gun-powder, and then retire to ſome obſcure place from whence after he has applyed his mach, he may ſolace himſelf with the miſchief; or though it be not ſo deſign'd, yet the effect is not more probably to ſtop a flame than to propagate it, and in ſtead of preſerving, to ſubvert and blow up the Government: Whereas if men were obliged to leave that anonymous and ſculking method both of Writing and Licenſing, they would certainly grow more careful what opinions they vented, what expreſſions they uſed, and we might have miſs'd many books that have of late come out by the ſame authority contrary to

all

all good manners, and even to the Doctrine of our Church under which they take protection. Had there been no other cause but this, it might have sufficed, and when *Ecclesiastical Polity* march'd *Incognito*, and Theology went on mumming, it was no less allowable for any one to use the license of Mascarade to show him, and the rest of 'm the consequence of such practice.

Prof. to Ec. Pol. p. 19. Let the Author of the Friendly Debate be careful how he layes aside his Vizour.

But beside this, when I perused his books, and others of the same pattern, I saw that they plainly incroached upon other mens vocations, and that a sort of Divines, among whom he alwayes acted the highest parts, had clann'd together to set up above those of the King and Duke a new Company of Comedians. Such was their Dramatick and Scenical way of scribling, and they did so teem with new Plays perpetually, that there was no Post nor Pillar so sacred that was exempt, no not even the walls of *Pauls* it self much less the *Temple-gate*, from the pasting up of the Titles. Insomuch that I have seen a Lacquey that could

Prof. to Ecc. Pol. p. 16. many things are only design'd to set off his reasonings with a Comical humour and pleasantness.

not

not read, having been ſent to take down the Play for the afternoon, has by miſtake brought away the Title of a new book of Theology. Yet if they did it well, they might perhaps in time get ſome cuſtom; but alas thoſe great men in the Pulpit how ridiculous do they appear on a Stage, and he that has all his life been cramp'd in a Reading pew at what a loſs muſt he be when he comes to tread in whatſoever Theater! They are ſo unfit to bear a part among any Civil and Judicious Company, that, whatſoever place they may hold in the Church, I am confident they muſt make all their friends to be but receiv'd into the *Nurſery*. And had not Mr. *Killegrew* foreſeen that they muſt of courſe within a little time fall to dirt of themſelves, he would ere this to be ſure have trounced the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, for intrenching upon his Patent. But he knew they were below his neglect and the *Pit* would quickly do their buſineſs, and not only hiſs but palt them off the Stage. And I, that had ſare

ſo

ſo long more quiet than all the reſt of the Spectators, could not at laſt reſtrain my ſelf from uſing alſo the liberty of the Houſe and revenging the expenſe of my time and money, by repreſenting the *Author of the* Comedy call'd the *Eccleſiaſtical Peliſie* in that Farſe of mine own the *Rehearſal Transpros'd.*

Neither yet was this all that deſerved reprehenſion in his Writings, He uſeth ſuch a Ruffian-like ſtile, and upon which, to my knowledge, he peculiarly values himſelf, that any one would ſuſpect he had travell'd and convers'd all his life time either among the Nation of the *Bravo's* and *Filoux*, or elſe been educated in the Academy of the *Venetian* Galleys which he himſelf was in his ſecond book ſo apprehenſive of, that he never reſted until he had found in his third how to ſupply them with Slaves out of the Nonconformiſts. But I perceive ſince that men of his parts can arrive at thoſe

Gen. Plat. Phil. p. 1.

Ec. Pol. p. 223.

those perfections sitting but in their Closets and over-hearing the Watermen which others after long Voyages and observation neither would nor could ever attain to. Then the Arrogance which runs through all his books is insupportable, boasting proudly of himself, vilifying and censuring others to such a degree that as I never heard any thing equal, so neither any thing like it but the Mountebanks abroad, who after a deal of Scaffold Pageantry to draw audience, entertain them by decrying all others with a Panegyrick of their own Balsam. There is scarce any sort and rank of men ancient or modern, scarce any particular person though of the most established and just reputation, but he does if he meet them not hale them into his way to invey against them and trample upon them, nay even such as have but a book, or two, or three before (perhaps a page, perhaps a line) been happy in his good opinion. And this he does for the most part in the most bitter manner that is possible: I know not whether I may properly call

call it Satyrical, but let it go so for once, for what he wants in wit he supplyes however in good will, and where the Conceit is deficient, he makes it out alwayes with railing. He scarce ever opens his mouth, but that he may bite, nor bites, but that from the *Vesicles* of his Gums he may infuse a venom. Had he been but innocently dull, he might have been sure no man would have medled with him: but when there was no end of his buttering one book upon another, and he still writ worse and worse, with less vigour alwayes, but more virulence, that perpetual grating did indeed set my teeth on edge, and I thought that even the most candid Readers would out of their equity not take it amiss if at last he did by hearing ill himself, lose part of that pleasure which he had so frequently taken intraducing and speaking hitherto ill of others. For no man needs Letters of Mart against one that is an open Pirate of other mens Credit: and I remember within our time one *Simons*, who rob'd alwayes upon the

Bricolle,

Bricolle, that is to say, never interrupted the Passengers but still set upon the Thieves themselves after, like Sir *John Falstaff*, they were gorged with a booty; and by this way, so ingenious, that it was scarce criminal, he lived secure and unmolested all his dayes with the reputation of a Judge rather than an High-way man. But my greatest incentive was, as I told him in my former Pamphlet, the perniciousness of the whole design of his books; tending, in my opinion, to the disturbance of all Government, the misrepresenting of the generous and prudent Counsels of His Majesty, and raising a mis-intelligence betwixt Him and His People; beside his calumniating the whole foraign Protestancy, his stirring up of persecution against those at home, and his mangling even of Religion it self and Christianity: And to this purpose he suited befitting Principles, and to those a Language as harmonious: seeming to have forgot not only all Scripture rules, but even all Scripture expressions; unless where he either distorts them

them to his own interpretation, or attempts to make them ridiculous to others; Insomuch, that, of all the books that ever I read, I must needs say I never saw a Divine guilty of so much ribaldry and prophaneness. Which though it was a matter of such Decency to his undertaking that I account it to have been even Necessary, yet in the whole I look'd upon as so uncanonical and impious, that it would bear an higher and more deserved accusation than that of *Onias* the Son of *Simeon* the *Just*, for officiating in a Womans Zone instead of the Priestly girdle, and for the sacred Pectoral wearing his Mistress Stomacher. I must confess that when all these things centred together upon my imagination, and I saw that none of his Superiors offer'd to interpose against an evil so great in it self, and as to me appear'd so publick in the consequence and mischief, I could hold no longer, and I, though the most unfit of many, assumed upon him the Priviledge (if any such Priviledge there be) of an English *Zeloie*.

Other-

Otherwiſe I indeed look'd upon him whoſoever he were, as a perſon in parts much my Superior, until the Cauſe as he took and handled it, had depreſs'd and levell'd his underſtanding: neither could I ever diſcover before ſuch an exuberance in mine own, either abilities, which I am ſenſible how mean, or yet in my inclination, that ſhould tempt me from that modeſt retiredneſs to which I had all my life time hitherto been addicted. And truly after I had written, I had ſo ſlender an opinion of mine own performance, that I can attribute the acceptance which it found only to his favour, who had ſo handled the matter, that nothing could have come out at that time againſt him but muſt be aſſured of welcom. And that among the other more weighty cauſes by reaſon of his unſpeakable arrogance before-mention'd: a Vice ſo generally odious, that to repreſs it is no leſs grateful; ſo that *Lucretius* might better have ſaid that to be —— *hominum Divumq; voluptas*; there being ſcarce any ſpectacle more pleaſing to

God and Man than to ſee the proud humbled. But could I have imagined that my book could have had either ſo good or ſo ill a reception as it diverſly met with, I have ſo much reſpect to thoſe whom he calls the vulgar, and to whom he bids alwayes Univerſal contempt and defiance as a rout of Wolves and Tigres, Apes and Baboons, that I ſhould however have beſtow'd more pains upon it, I know not whether with better ſucceſs. Yet the errours of that not being now revocable but by asking pardon of whoſoever may have innocently miſtaken my book, and declaring, which I do, that if any thing therein do tend to the diſparagement of the Church of *England*, I wiſh it unſaid as it was unthought, and do hereby utterly diſclaim it; I took it to be part of my gratitude to go no more to Sea, having been ſufficiently toſs'd for one man upon the billows of applauſe and obloquy to put me in mind of a Shipwrack, which when the waves go high may either way happen. And as to the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity*

Cenſ. Plat. Ph. p. 34. and 35.

Polity himſelf, whoſe perſon I was ſo far ignorant of, that I could only take aim at his errours, and much leſs could intend any other of that function, but thoſe few who might aſſume to themſelves his Character; I found nevertheleſs after the writing of that book, that natural relenting of mind which moſt men feel after they have done an harſh though neceſſary action. Inſomuch that had it been in my power to have ſet him right again in mens opinions as it was in his to ſet himſelf wrong, I ſhould have certainly done it. But for that he and every one elſe may pleaſe to believe as they ſhall ſee occaſion. But this however muſt be evident which follows.

Whereas I had in that book, as is in that ſtile uſual, intermixed things apparently fabulous, with others probably true, and that partly out of my uncertainty of the Author, and partly that if he pleas'd he might continue ſo; it ſeems however that I chanced to come ſo near his Form that it ſtarted him, and he thought fit to diſcover himſelf. Hereupon and having

ing understood what he was about, I thought it my duty if possible to break off this ruder intercourse for the future, and reduce the matter unto a more manly way of argument. I therefore took care to advertise him that I heard from several hands, that if in the answer intended there were any unjust and personal reflections, it would tend much to the disreputation of himself and some persons whom he most esteemed, and that there was preparation made to that purpose. Upon this he sent me word, that if any Answer were intended; 'twas more than he was acquainted with, or would concern himself about; and assured me my private reputation nor no mans else should ever be injur'd in publick by his consent. I do not by quoting this answer of his pretend to sue his Word, to which he is no more a Slave than to the *Venetian* Galleys (such men being at liberty to comment upon their own as well as other Texts at their pleasure) Nevertheless before this, and at that present time as well as ever since, I understood that he

he had ſent out a general *Siquis* thorow his own Province and th: other to make Inquiſition concerning me. He voiced my book all over as a moſt pernicious engine bent against the whole body of the Clergy. And upon that pretence he ſummon'd in all that ow'd ſuit and ſervice to his Court, or the Church of *England*. The whole *Poſſe Archidiaconatus* was raiſed to repreſs me, and great riding there was and ſending poſt every way to pick out the ableſt Eccleſiaſtical Droles to prepare an Anſwer. Some came in daily as Voluntiers, and others were more mercenary. For certainly there was never ſuch an hubbub made about a ſorry book, and, ſince the day of St. *Bartholomew*, there has not appear'd ſo great an expectation of an univerſal Donative. Some one flatter'd himſelf with being at leaſt a Surrogate; another was ſo modeſt as to ſet up with being but a Paritor; while the moſt generous hoped only to be graciouſly ſmiled upon and well treated at a good Dinner: but the more hungry ſtarvelings generally look'd

upon it as an immediate Call to a Benefice, and he that could but write an Answer, whatsoever it were, took it for the most dexterous, cheap, and legal way of Simony. So that, as is usual upon those occasions, there arose no small competition and mutiny among the Pretenders; and, it being impossible to satisfie them all, many an one departed with a sad heart and dejected countenance, when their Answers would not pass muster. For it was not every book that could now be admitted. 'T was requir'd upon this occasion to gain a License, that there should be some Wit more than ordinary, which most of them could not be at the expense of; some measure of Impudence, which few of them would pretend to; and above all such a proportion of Falshood as might alone have supply'd the other defects and made their books current; but scarce any of them would do it out of good Conscience. For that indeed was now the principal business and the only argument that, as he had handled it, remain'd to this Cause; and

therefore

therefore the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity* had alter'd his lodgings to a Calumny Office, and kept open chamber for all comers that he might be ſupplyed himſelf, or ſupply others as there was occaſion. But, though he had been a little choice at firſt, the Informations came in ſo ſlenderly, that he was glad to make uſe of any thing rather than ſit out: and there was at laſt nothing ſo ſlight but it grew material, nothing ſo falſe but he reſolved it ſhould go for truth, and what wanted in matter he would make out with invention and artifice. So that he and his remaining Camarades ſeem'd to have ſet up a Glaſs-houſe, the Model of which he had obſerved from the height of his window in the Neighbourhood, and the Art he had been initiated into ever ſince from the Manufacture (he will criticize becauſe not Orifacture) of *Soape-bubbles*, he improved by degrees to the myſterie of making *Glaſs-drops*, and thence in running leaps mounted by theſe virtues to be Fellow of the Royal Society, Doctor of Divinity, Parſon, Prebend,

bend, and Arch-deacon. The Furnace was so hot of it self that there needed no coals, much less any one to blow them. One burnt the Weed, another calcined the Flint, a third melted down that mixture; but he himself fashion'd all with his breath, and polished with his stile, till out of a meer jelly of Sand and Ashes, he had furnish'd a whole Cupboard of things so brittle and incoherent that the least touch would break them again in pieces, so transparent that every man might see thorow them.

In the mean time such care was used that the License of my book was recall'd, and the *Rebearsal Transprosed* was dubb'd a Theological Book, only to bring it under the verge of that Jurisdiction, on purpose that it might be prohibited. It hath indeed been usual to degrade a Priest, or scrape a shaven crown to deface his character before he were deliver'd over to secular justice: but this was a strange and contrary method to force a poor book into Holy Orders, that so it might be subjected to censure and

execution

execution by the Ordinary. This was an honour which to my knowledge the poor book neither affected nor deſerved; though indeed it might have deſerved it as well as the *Preface to Biſhop Bramhall*, which occaſion'd its Writing, and that 'tis true came out in ſtate under the Title of a Theological Book in the Printed Catalogue of that year, as ſeveral others do of the ſame nature. When he had thus provided that my book ſhould not ſpeak for it ſelf, and moreover uſed means, which having proved ineffectual I ſhall not particularize, to obſtruct me from liberty of ever vindicating it for the future; it ſeem'd to him the moſt favourable ſeaſon that ever was or could have been invented to keep his promiſe, and to publiſh his Anſwers to preſerve *my private reputation.* For one Anſwer would not ſuffice; but therefore, to fit his ware for the purſe and fancies of all Chapmen, and to *ingratiate* not only the *Bookſellers*, but the Pedlers; he order'd the matter ſo and digeſted it into ſeveral Volumes, that a man might

buy

buy a Groat, Sixpence, a Shilling, Eighteen pence, Half a crown, or Five Shillings-worth of Theological Wit and Verity, as he saw occasion. The rest issued promiscuously; only before that which was to bear his own character and the other which was to be call'd *Hickringills* were divulged, he procured that I should be asked by good Authority whether the *Rehearsal Transpros'd* were of my doing, which I under my hand avowed. By this means he had gained however three points, as he imagined. The first, that he should thereby have some months time more to mature two such excellent pieces, which he intended as the *Hercules* Pillars, and *Ne plus-ultras* of the Reason, Wit, Sobriety, Good breeding and Orthodoxy of the Clergy of the Church of *England* The next that he should now be able to take such certain aim at me, that he might every shot he made hit me in the eye, or at least (for I have to do with a very critical adversary) in its Cavity, for I suppose his first arrow must have struck the eye out,

out.. And the laſt doubtleſs; that having let me know *that he would not concern himſelf*, and *aſſur'd me that my private reputation, nor any mans elſe ſhould ever by him be injur'd in publick*, he might, now be underſtood I was the profeſſed Author, give by theſe books ſo ample teſtimonial of his own Veracity. Though for ſome other reaſons beſide this laſt I rather conceive it might have been more expedient for him not to have been ſo inquiſitive of the Author, or at leaſt after he had learnt it not to have taken that notice of me. Not that I aſſume to my ſelf any of thoſe lineaments wherewith he deſcribes me; but however after I had own'd the *Rehearſal Tranſpros'd*, whatſoever in either of his books he reflects upon the Author he muſt acknowledge as ſaid by himſelf of me and directed to me. At laſt when all other plots and clancular contrivances againſt me had failed him, theſe two books alſo which he had kept in reſerve, were in ſome haſt Printed off; his day of Marriage too drawing faſt on, which he intended

to

to calender by a victory, and would perhaps have been deferr'd longer by the Friends, had he not first signaliz'd his prowess. So that now there were no less than half a dozen Answers out against me (not to mention several other Pamphlets wherein the Authors or Booksellers by drawing in but by head and shoulders one line perhaps concerning the *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, or by only naming it hoped to procure vent or better their livelyhood) He had thus got a *Sixiesme du valet* in his hand already, and if he can but show three more of the same Honour to make a *Quatorze*, I am repiqued inevitably and spoyl'd for a Gamster by a Dignitary much Superior to him of *Lincoln*. There were no less than six *Scaramuccios* together upon the Stage, all of them of the same gravity and behaviour, the same tone, the same habit, that it was impossible to discern which was the true *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*. I believe he imitated the Wisdom of some other Princes, who have sometimes been per-

perſwaded by their Servants to diſguiſe ſeveral others in the Regal garb, that the enemy might not know in the battel whom to ſingle. But for my part though I know that ſeveral Gentlemen, and ſome of them Divines, are commonly named as the Authors of thoſe books, yet they are perſons for the moſt part of more Candor, Learning, and good Judgement than that I ſhould ſuſpect the truth of it, or that they could poſſibly deſcend to ſo mean and contrary an undertaking. And even that *Gregory Greybeard*, which alone of all the ſix pretends to a Father, and to be writ by one that hath not only a Sir-name, but a Chriſten name alſo, it ſounds ſo ſtrangely and unlike the name of any humane creature, that rather than ſo, it ſeems to me a word of Cipher, like the *Smectymnuus* formerly of the Presbyterians, and ſo *Hicringill* to denote the Club of this whole party. But it is more probably by much the iſſue of the very ſame *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie*. If it ſhould be any other, 'tis a thing more remarkable

ble than what is reported of the two learned brothers of St. *Marthe*, who being Twins and living to a great age were so like one another, that they were not to be distinguish'd, but that one wore a Plain-band and the other a Ruff: nay, their minds had no less similitude; insomuch that, having with-drawn all day to study at any time on the same subject, when they came to compare at night they should find that they had light for the most part upon the same conceptions. For he that shall read the *Reproof to the Rehearsal Transpros'd*, and then this *Hierurgia*, will discern so little difference in their expressions, humour and thoughts (such as no man else could have hit upon) as he must necessarily enter and conclude that they are the works of one and the same Artificer, and so much I can prove; that, if any one were not of his penning, yet all of them pass'd under his Inspection, Approbation, or License. So that upon perusal of all those books that have appear'd in so many several shapes against me, first *Rosemary and Bayes*, then

then the *Common Places*, next the *Transproser Rehears'd*, fourthly *S^r too him Bays*, afterwards the *Reproof*, and in fine, *Gregory Gray beard*, I find plainly that 'tis but the same Ghost that hath haunted me in those differing dresses and Vehicles. Insomuch that upon consideration of so various an identity, methings after so many years I begin to understand Doctor *Donn's* Progress of the Soul, which pass'd through no fewer revolutions, and had hitherto puzzled all its Readers.

For—*This Great Soul, which here amongst us now*
Does dwell, and —*to which* Luther *and* Mahomet *were* St. 7.
Prisons of flesh, this Soul which oft did tear
And mend the wracks of th' Empire and la e Rome,
And liv'd when every great Change did come.

did nevertheless fix it self at first in so mean a condition as is scarce credible, in a chast and innocent Apple. But St. 9.

that

that being ſoon pluck'd, it betook it ſelf into a Mandrake, and

To ſhow that in Loves buſineſs he ſhou'd ſtill
St. 15. *A dealer be and be us'd well or ill,*
His Apples kindle, his Leaves force of Conception kill.

('Tis pity that his Curate of *Ickham* was not acquainted with its virtues.) From this it took its flight into a Sparrow, and lived a chirping life, as
St. 20. is there deſcribed,

Already this hot Cock, in buſh and tree,
In Field and Tent, o'reflutters its next Hen, &c.

St. 23. From thence it drop'd, I know not
St. 25. how, into a little Fiſh: after that, into another little Fiſh: and there learnt the Art of Tipling, which it practis'd for ſome time in that moderate proportion. But next, in its third ſwimming leap it pitch'd into a
St. 31. Whale, and grew up to be the great Leviathan

Leviathan —— *Now drinks he up Seas,* —— St. 34.

——*and ever as he went,*
He spouted rivers up —— St. 32.

Immediately after this, the Soul by some misadventure dwindled into a Mouse, but a very busie Mouse, and of great design: So that

——*being late taught that great things might by less* St. 38.
Be slain, to gallant mischief it doth it self address:

and pick'd out no less opposite than an Elephant to buckle with,

Who foe to none, suspects no enemies, &c. St. 39.

and having crept up thorow his Trunk was gnawing his Brain-strings asunder, but suddenly was crush'd under the ruines of so great an adversary. In process of time it enter'd into a Wolf, and infested *Abel*'s flock; St. [illegible]

Abel *as white and mild as his ſheep were,*
Who, in that Trade of Church and Kingdom's, there
was the firſt type ——

St. 42. but being hindred by a vigilant Bitch, the Wolf corrupted her to his purpoſe; yet at laſt was taken in a trap and kill'd. But ſtraight it enter'd into
St. 43. the young *Lyciſca*, that was new knotted, and the whelp growing up was imploy'd by *Abel* in keeping the ſame Flock, but the Mungrel was not to be truſted: for partaking of both natures,

St. 45. *He as his Damme from Sheep drove Wolves away,*
And as his Sire he made them his own prey.
Five years he liv'd, and cozened with his Trade:

and then coming at laſt to be diſcovered,

From Dogs a Wolf, from Wolves a Dog he fled:
And like a Spy, to both sides false, he perished.

The Soul being then at a loss, got admittance into an Ape, which being very facetious and full of Gambolls, grew into great favour with Madam *Siphatecia*: but for some ugly tricks, and making too bold with his Mistresses *Apron*, he was with a great stone knock'd dead by *Thelemite* her Brother. After this Soul had passed thorow so many Brutes, & been hunted from post to pillar, its last receptacle was in the humane nature, and it housed it self in a female Conception, which after it came to years of consent, was Married to *Cain* by the name of *Themech*. This was the sum of that witty fable of Doctor *Donne*'s, which if it do not perfectly suit with all the transmigrations of mine Answerer, the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, nor equal the Progress of so great a Prince, yet whoever will be so curious as himself to read that Poem, may follow the parallel much further

than I have done, leſt I ſhould be tedious to the Reader by too long and exact a ſimilitude. But if it do not quadrate here, the reſemblance will perhaps be more viſible upon the examination of what remains to be conſider'd next to the *Gravity of his Profeſſion*, that is the *Civility of his Education*, which he charges me by my former book to have diſcompoſed. For it is the intereſt of the Publick, eſpecially he appealing to it upon this particular, that it ſhould remain upon Record how Syllogiſtical a life his hath been to the Stile and Principles that he has manag'd and proſecuted.

Whoever ſhall go back to trace his Original, will quickly be at a ſtand & find themſelves ſo ſoon involved in the Fabulous Age, that they will run aſtray and be benighted in his Hiſtory before noon. They will find his *Saturn* to have reign'd much later than *William* the *Conqueror*; or if, like a true born *Arcadian*, he derive himſelf from before the Moon, it muſt be underſtood concerning the laſt Change. I cannot yet learn, though he hath im-

imployed me long about it, who was his Grand-father: but, as modern as he must have been, 'tis the certainer Heraldry to extract him from a *Vessele of the Earth*, and let him go for the Grand-son of a *Pimple*. For no Prince how great soever begets his Predecessors, and the noblest Rivers are not Navigable to the Fountain. Even the Parentage of the *Nile* is yet in obscurity, and 'tis a dispute among Authors whether *Snow* be not the head of his Pedigree. I read indeed as long ago as in the Reign of *Edward* the 4th. concerning one *Henry Parker*, a Carmelite Friar, who having preach'd against the secular grandeur and pomp of the Clergy in those times, was forced to make a publick Recantation at *Pauls-Cross*. But this is too obsolete: and though otherwise the Analogy might easily be propagated, yet I suppose the honest Monk kept to his vow of Continence: and besides, should the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, descend from that Line, it would make too great a Solecism in his Scutcheon. There was also in the

latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*, and beginning of King *James*, one *Robert Parker, the Author* of another kind of *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, a Learned, but ſevere Non-conformiſt, who writ alſo the book *de Cruce*, for which he was forced to croſs the Seas. But neither can I find him to come within the proportion of time or Scale of his Genealogy. Therefore to come nearer, I find in the Reign of the late King *Charles* one *Humfrey Parker*, Yeoman, who together with Mr. *Chancey*, for oppoſing the Rails about the Communion Table at *Ware* was ſentenced to make a ſolemn ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment of his fault, as he did accordingly. There are ſeveral Arguments that might incline me to think the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie* is com'd of his Succeſſion, and one particularly, becauſe in the Record I read that this *Humfrey* took a Journey upon this occaſion into *Northampton ſhire*, the ſeat of the Anſwerers Family. But that which ſeems to come neareſt home to him and the Chronology of his Grandfather, is in the year 1640.

in

in a Petition from the City of *London* and ſeveral Counties to the then Parliament; complaining among other things of *Martin Parkers* Ballads, in diſgrace of Religion, to the increaſe of all vice, and withdrawing o' people from reading, ſtudying and hearing the Word of God and other good books. 'Tis not at all unlikely that this, as an hereditary provocation, hath ſtuck upon him ever ſince, and that he ſwore at the Altar, when he was but nine years old, to be aveng'd for this affront to his lineage. We ſee often that the ſignature of the Grand father revives upon the child, and, as ſome Rivers diving for a while under ground, makes a Bridge of the Parents to ſpring up again at that interval. Hence doubtleſs hath proceeded all his pee's againſt the Nonconformiſts; hence that unquenchable *Nemeſis* againſt the City; hence it is that he hath taken upon him to defend in groſs at this time the whole maſs of enormityes, right or wrong, then complain'd of in that Petition: all this miſchief for a Ballad-makers ſake of

the kindred. The Duke of *Muscovy* indeed declared War against *Poland*, because he and his Nation had been vilityed by a *Polish* Poet: but the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* would it seems disturb the peace of Christendom for the good old cause of a superannuated Chanter of *Saffron-hill* and *Pye-corner*. But though indeed he doth not write his books in the *Smithfield* Meetre, yet they are all Blank Ballad, and the subject and consequence *to the disgrace of Religion, the increase of all vice, and with-drawing people from reading, studying, and hearing the Word of God, and other good books is exactly the same.* So that he may when he will put in for Letters of Administration in the Prerogative Court, and enter his Claim too with the Heralds: for every one will yield him to be the next of kin to that Author; or let him but produce his own Writings, 'tis Evidence sufficient. If it should prove otherwise, the fault is in his own obscurity, that hath left all the Neighbourhood and me in the dark; and

and let him make what ſhift he will to procure himſelf a Grand-father, for I have taken pains enough, I am ſure, to help him to one.

But however for that matter, let the worſt come to the worſt, he had a Mother undeniably and probably a Father: Otherwiſe he would be ſhrowdly diſappointed, and in a worſe caſe then *Prince Prettyman* lamenting, *Rehearſal Comedy*, p. 27.

What Oracle this Secret can evince,
Sometimes a Fiſhers Son, ſometimes a Prince:
It is a ſecret great, as is the world,
In which I like the Soul am toſs'd and hurl'd:

And he might with good reaſon exclaim more pathetically — *Bring in my Father, why d'ye keep him from me? Although a Fiſherman, he is my Father.*

Was ever Son yet brought to this diſtreſs,
To be for being a Son made fatherleſs? *Rehearſal Com:* p. 26.
Oh you juſt Heavens! rob me not of a Father:
The being of a Son take from me rather.

His

His Mother is said to have been an honest Yeoman's Daughter, and to have been his Fathers Servant, with whom she lived with good reputation and so ever since her marriage; except what disgrace may have reflected from her issue, which being her grief and misfortune ought not to be her scandal. But though he came of a good Mother, he had a very ill Sire. He was a man bred toward the Law, and betook himself, as his best practice, to be a Sub Committee man, or, as the stile ran, one of the Assistant Committee in *Northampton-shire*. In the rapine of that employment, and what he got by picking the teeth of his Masters he sustain'd himself, till he had raked together some little estate. And then being a man for the purpose, and that had begun his fortune out of the sequestration of the Estates of the Kings party, he to perfect it the more, proceeded to take away their Lives; not in the hot and Military way (which diminishes always the offence) but in the cooler blood and sedentary execution of an High Court of Justice.

Ac-

Accordingly he was preferr'd to be one of that number that gave Sentence againſt the three Lords, *Capel*, *Holland*, and *Hamilton*, who were beheaded. By this Learning in the Law he became worthy of the degree of a Serjeant, and ſometimes to go the Circuit till for miſdemeanor he was Petition'd againſt. But for a taſte of his abilities, and the more to re-ingratiate himſelf, he printed in the year 1650, a very remarkable book called *The Government of the People of* England, *precedent and preſent the ſame. Ad ſubſcribentes confirmandum, Dubitantes informandum, Opponentes convincendum*; and underneath, *Multa videntur quæ non ſunt, Multa ſunt quæ non videntur.* Under that ingraven, two Hands joyn'd with the Motto, *Ut uniantur*, and beneath a Sheaf of Arrows with this Device, *Vis unita fortior*; and to conclude, *Concordia parvæ res creſcunt Diſcordia dilabuntur.* A moſt Hieroglyphical Title and ſufficient to have ſupplyed the Mantlings and Atchievements of the Family! By theſe Parents he was ſent to *Oxford*, with inten-

intention to breed him up to the Miniſtry. There in a ſhort time he enter'd himſelf into the Company of ſome young Students who were uſed to Faſt and Pray weekly together, but for their reſection fed ſometimes on a Broth from whence they were commonly call'd *Grewellers*: only it was obſerved that he was wont ſtill to put more *Graves* than all the reſt in his Porrige. And after that he pick'd acquaintance not only with the Brotherhood at *Wadham Colledge*, but with the *Siſterhood* too at another old *Elſibeths*, one *Elizabeth Hampton's*, a plain devout Woman, where he train'd himſelf up in hearing their Sermons and Prayers, receiving alſo the Sacrament in the Houſe, till he had gain'd ſuch proficience that he too began to exerciſe in that Meeting, and was eſteem'd one of the *preciouſeſt* young men in the Univerſity. But when thus, after ſeveral years approbation, he was even ready to have taken the charge not of an *admiring drove* or *heard*, as he now calls them, but of a Flock upon him, by great misfortune,

the

the King came in by the miraculous providence of God influencing the distractions of some, the good affections of others, and the weariness of all towards that happy Restauration after so many sufferings to his Regal Crown and Dignity. Nevertheless, he broke not off yet from his former habitudes, and though it were now too late to obviate this inconvenience, yet he persisted, as far as in him was, that is by praying, caballing, and discoursing to obstruct the restoring of the Episcopal Government, Revenues, and Authority. Insomuch that finding himself discountenanced on those accounts by the then Warden of *Wadham*, he shifted Colledges to *Trinity*, and, when there, went away without his Degree, scrupling forsooth the Subscription then required. From thence he came to *London*, where he spent a considerable time in creeping into all Corners and Companies, Horoscoping up and down concerning the duration of the Government: not considering any thing as best, but as most lasting and most profitable. And

after

after having many times cast a figure, he at last satisfyed himself that the Episcopal Government would indure as long as this King lived, and from thence forward cast about how to be admitted into the Church of *England*, and find the High-way to her preferments. In order to this he daily inlarged, not only his Conversation but his Conscience, and was made free of some of the Town-vices: imagining like *Muleasses* King of *Tunes* (for I take witness that on all occasions I treat him rather above his quality than otherwise) that by hiding himself among the Onyons, he should escape being traced by his Perfumes. Ignorant and mistaken man, that thought it necessary to part with any virtue to get a Living; or that the Church of *England* did not require and incourage more sobriety, than he could ever be guilty of: whereas it hath always been fruitful of men, who, together with obedience to that Discipline, have lived to the envy of the Nonconformists in their conversation, and without such could never either have

been

been preſerved ſo long or after ſo long a diſſipation have ever recover'd. But neither was this yet in his opinion ſufficient: and therefore he reſolved to try a ſhorter path which ſome few men have trode not unſucceſsfully: that is, to print a book, if that would not do, a ſecond, if not that, a third of an higher extraction and ſo forward, to give experiment againſt their former party of a keen ſtile and a Ductile judgement. His firſt Proof piece was in the year 1665, the *Tentamina Phyſico theologica*: a tedious tranſcript of his Common place book, wherein there is very little of his own, but the arrogance and the unparallel'd cenſoriouſneſs that he exerciſes over all other Writers, beſide his undutiful inveying even then againſt the *Veſicles of the Earth* for meer bubbles, as he did ſhortly after againſt his Fathers Memory, and in his Mothers preſence before ſeveral witneſſes, for a couple of *whining Phanaticks*. However he accounted it a ſafe book, on all ſides, it being of ſo trite and confeſſed an argument that few judicious men would read

read it to examine the errours: and in so rough and scabbed a *Latine* that a man must have long nails, and those sharper than ordinary, to distinguish betwixt the Skin and the Disease, the Faults and the Grammar. To omit his usual volume and circumference of periods; which though he takes always to be his chiefest strength, yet indeed, like too great a Line, weakens the defense, and requires too many men to make it good. But the Cause being against Atheism, he was secure that none would attaque him. For whether there be any Atheists is some controversie, and he is Compurgator for most of 'm: or if there be such, yet they know the Bastions are all undermined and they should be blown up as soon as enter'd. But let him shew me any Atheist that he hath reduced by his book, unless he may pretend to have converted some (as in the old *Florentine* Wars) by meer tyring them out, and perfect wearinesse. In this Treatise however it was difficult for him to have hedged in the Non-conformists: only here and

there he ſprinkles a glittering ore, to give hopes of a vein underneath of ſuch metal as might by a skilful hand be founded into any figure; and having ſhown as he thought ſufficiently that he believ'd there was a God, he imagin'd that thenceforward, write what, and againſt whom he would, it might paſs as indiſputably; that all would be current which paſt his Touch-ſtone; that as his Predeceſſor *Midas* turn'd into Gold whatſoever he touched, ſo every thing by his handling ſhould be tranſmuted to Orthodoxy. When he had Cook'd up theſe muſty Collections, he makes his firſt invitation to his *old Acquaintance* my Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had never ſeen before nor heard of him. But I muſt confeſs he furbiſhes up his Grace in ſo glorious an Epiſtle, that, had not my Lord been long ſince proof againſt the moſt Spiritual Flattery, the Dedication only without ever reading the book, might have ſerved to have fix'd him from that inſtant as his Favourite. Yet all this I perceive did not his work, but his

Grace was so unmindful, or rather so prudent, that the Gentleman thought it necessary to spur up again the next year with another new book to show more plainly what he would be at. This he dedicates to Doctor *Bathurst* and to evidence from the very Epistle that he was ready to renounce that very Education the Civility of which he is so tender of as to blame me for disordering it, he picks occasion to tell him: *to your prevailing advise, Sir, do I owe my first rescue from the Chains and Fetters of an unhappy Education.* But in the book which he calls, a *free and impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophy*, (censure 'tis sure to be whatsoever he writes) he speaks out, and demonstrates himself ready and equipp'd to surrender not only the Cause, but betray his party without making any Conditions for them, and to appear forthwith himself in the head of the contrary Interest. Which supposing the dispute to be just, yet in him was so mercenary, that none would have descended to act his part but a Divine of Fortune. And even

Law-

Lawyers take themselves excused from being of Counsel for the King himself, in a Cause where they have been entertain'd and instructed by their Client. But so flippant he was, and forward in this book, that, in despight of all Chronology, he could introduce *Plato* to invey against *Calvin*, and from the Platoniques he could miraculously hook in a Discourse against the Non-conformists. After this feat of activity he was ready to leap over the Moon: no scruple of Conscience could stand in his way, and no preferment seemed too high for him; For about this time, I find that having taken a turn at *Cambridge*, to qualifie himself, he was received within doors to be my Lord Arch-bishops other Chaplain, and into some degree of favour: which, considering the difference of their humours and ages, was somewhat surprizing. But, whether indeed in times of heat and faction the most temperate Spirits may sometimes chance to take delight in one that is spightful, and make some use of him; or whether it be that even

c. Pl. Ph. p. 2[illegible], 27, 28, &c.

the moſt grave and ſerious perſons do for relaxation divert themſelves willingly by whiles with a Creature that is unlucky, mimical and gameſome; ſo it was. And thenceforward the nimble Gentleman danced upon Bell-ropes, vaulted from Steeple to Steeple, and cut Capers out of one Dignity to another. Having thus dexterouſly ſtuck his Groat in *Lambeth* Wainſcot it may eaſily be conceived he would be unwilling to loſe it, and therefore he concern'd himſelf highly, and even to jealouſie in upholding now that Palace, which if falling, he would out of inſtinct be the firſt ſhould leave it. His Majeſty about that time labouring to effect his conſtant promiſes of Indulgence to his people, the Author therefore walking with his own ſhadow in the evening took a great fright leſt all were agoe. And in this conceit being reſolv'd to make good his Figure, and that one Government ſhould not laſt any longer than the other, he ſet himſelf to write thoſe dangerous Books which I have now to do with: wherein, he

firſt

firſt makes all that he will to be Law, and then whatſoever is Law to be Divinity. And I ſhall appeal to all Readers, and I hope make it good, that never in any age, by any man (that I may not ſay any Church-man) have there been publiſhed Diſcourſes either ſo erroneouſly founded, or ſo foully managed, or of ſo pernicious conſequence. In concluſion, this is that man who inſiſts ſo much and ſtirrops himſelf upon the Gravity of his Profeſſion, and the Civility of his Education: which if he had in the leaſt obſerved in reſpect either to himſelf or others, I ſhould, I could never have made ſo bold with him. And nevertheleſs, it being ſo neceſſary to repreſent him in his own likeneſs that it may appear what he is to others, and to himſelf, if poſſibly he might at laſt correct his indecencies, I have not committed any fault of ſtile, nor even this tediouſneſs, but in his imitation. I have not uſed any harſh expreſſions but what were ſuitable to that Civility of Education which he pra-

Arises, and that Gravity of Profession which he hath set up of : and even therein I have taken care, beside what my nature hath taken care for, to shoot below the mark, and not to retaliate to the same degree ; being willing, as I must yield him the preference for many good qualities, so in his worst however to give him the precedence. And yet withall that it hath been thus far the odiousest task that ever I undertook, and has look'd to me all the while like the cruelty of a Living Dissection, which, however it may tend to publick instruction, and though I have pick'd out the most noxious Creature to be anatomiz'd, yet doth scarse excuse or recompence the offensiveness of the scent and fouling of my fingers. Therefore I will here break off abruptly, leaving many a vein not laid open, and many a passage not search'd into; nor read any further upon this Soul of the World, or prosecute afresh its allegory from the Apple, the Mandrake, the Sparrow, the Fishes, the Mouse, the Mungrel, the Ape, unto the day of Marriage, but

but leave the Moral to the judicious. And I could here take advantage perhaps plauſibly enough to put a final concluſion to this whole book, for if a man hath taken off his railing, he hath therein anſwered his Argument. But if I have undergone the drudgery of the more loathſome part already, I will not defraud my ſelf of what is more truly pleaſant, & remains behind the lighter burthen, the conflict with, if it may be ſo call'd his Reaſon. For his whole book is, according to his uſual Addreſs, a Letter to me, & it concerns my Civility to return an Anſwer to every part of it. He hath ask'd me many queſtions, and I take my ſelf obliged to reſolve them. And he hath promis'd me the Preſs ſhall be open, neither would I therefore be behind hand with him in courteſie. So that I have now only three things of which he hath made it neceſſary that I caution the Reader. The firſt is not to be miſled by a peſtilent way that he has of Youing me, and ſo making me an Epidemical perſon, affixing thereby what hath ever, he

pretends to have been said or done by any in the Cause of Non-conformity at any time to my account: although it hath never enter'd into my Book or Imagination, and he had been more kind, if, as sometimes he does out of civility he had Thou'd me to the end of the Chapter. The second is not on the other part to impute any errors or weakness of mine to the Non-conformists, nor mistake me for one of them, (not that I fly it as a reproach, but rather honour the most scrupulous:) for I write only what I think befits all men in Humanity, Christianity and Prudence toward Dissenters. The last is not to think that I am any such old Acquaintance as he claims, to insinuate me of dis-ingenuity, for of our acquaintance I shall give account hereafter.

THat which gave me the first occasion of Writing was, as I have said formerly, his third *Crambe*, of the same purulent matter, and virulent stile, the *Preface to Bishop* Bramhall: and

and againſt that and its incomparable extravagancies was my whole Diſcourſe bent and levell'd. Only about the middle of mine I touch'd in paſſing upon ſome points of his other Treatiſes, that is, the *Power of the Magiſtrate*, *Conſcience*, *Morality*, *Debauchery*, *Perſecution*, &c. But he, whether by miſtake or on purpoſe, turns my method quite backward, and, avoiding that which was direct for what is but collateral, begins in his ſecond page, in his uſual Military Metaphors of *Attack*, *Front and Rear*, &c. with the Ninety ſeventh of my Book. This however, is an accident that hath befaln other great Commanders as well as himſelf. For his Ancient Friend, *William the Conqueror*, at the battel of *Haſtings*, had in the ſame manner the back of his Cuiraſſes placed before, by the error of him that put them on. The thing is ominous I doubt to the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, and aſſuredly (as the Duke then ſaid) *This day his Fortune will turn, and he will be a King or nothing before night.* Yet I will not decline the purſuit, but

plod

plod on after him in his own way, thorow thick and thin, hill or dale, over hedge and ditch wherever he leads; till I have laid hand on him, and deliver'd him bound either to Reason or Laughter, to Justice or Pity. If at any turn he gives me the least opportunity to be serious I shall gladly take it: but where he prevaricates or is scurrilous (and where is he not?) I shall treat him betwixt Jest and Earnest. That which is solid and sharp, being imp'd by something more light and airy, may carry further and pierce deeper, and therefore I shall look to it as well as I can, that mine Arrows be well pointed, and of mine own whetting; but for the Feathers, I must borrow them out of his Wing. Neither yet would I have this similitude improv'd to his disparagement: for he is a Bird of Prey, and an High-flyer, and, though he hath lessen'd himself by the Height of his Place, he cannot certainly be other than an Eagle, and perhaps the same fate may attend him.

First,

First therefore, as to the Power of the Magistrate, he saith in gross: that *the Supream Government of every Commonwealth must of Necessity be Universal, Uncontroulable, Indispensable, Unlimited, and Absolute in all affairs whatsoever that concern the Interests of Mankind and the ends of Government; as well in matters of Religion as in all other Civil concerns.* This is I confess pretty strongly worded, and drawn up doubtless by the advice of his Counsel Learned: But if these be terms unknown yet in our Law, we must refer it to the Supream Government *to define their signification.* However, if it be not Law, 'tis pity but it were so. 'Tis the very *Elixir Potestatis* and *Magisterium Domini*: So fine a thing that no man living but would be inamour'd with it: For, wot ye well, it is a *Power* he saith *establish'd* of yore, at or before the beginning of the World, e're there was any such thing known or thought of, as Periwigs or Glass-Coaches *by the unalterable dictates of Natural Reason and Universal Practice and Consent of Nations.* Only in *the Jewish*

Ecc. Pol. p. 27, 28. 35, &c.

Ecc. Pol. p. 109.

Ecc. Pol. p. 31. *Jewish Common wealth for some peculiar Reasons of State,* (which he knows but will not tell us) 'twas for some time otherwise. But this Power was p. 35. *antecedent to Christ* himself, and it was so well founded, that there was none, or very little need of the Authority of the Scripture in the Case, and therefore *the Scripture rather supposes than asserts this Jurisdiction.* Yet in our Saviours time, and for some while after there was such *a Posture of Affairs,* p. 37. and *such an unhappy Juncture of Af-* p. 38. *fairs* (how mechanically he expresses Ecc. Pol. it?) that, while the Heathen Princes p. 40. enjoy'd this Power by the Antecedent Right of Soveraignty, and accordingly exercised it over Christians, 'twas also necessary to supply it among them *by Miracles of Severity.* But p. 48. *when once Christianity became the Imperial Religion, this Power began to resettle where Nature had placed it,* and so the world jog'd on, and *its Affairs were* p. 54. *competently well Govern'd* (*though better or worse, according to the wisdom and vigilance of the several Emperors*) till the Bishop of *Rome,* seeing this Power to

to be ſo rich and beautiful a Creature began to caſt a ſweet Eye on her, and, by the addreſs of his conſtant ſollicitation and courtſhip carried her ſheer away from all the Princes of Chriſtendom. So this Jewel of the Crown was for ſeveral hundred of years imbezel'd till *Henry* the 8*th*. and other Princes found it again by chance in the ruines of an old Monaſtery at the Reformation. But though the *Wiſdom of the elder Ages had always practiſed this Power*, yet *ſince that Governors have not been thorowly inſtructed in its Nature and Extent. Government hath not been rightly underſtood nor duly managed*, the Reformation *hath not been able to reſettle Princes in their full and Natural rights*. What will not the man deſerve that can ſhow them better and teach Governors a Receipt againſt ſo Chronical Negligence and Ignorance? *So little have Princes underſtood their own Intereſts. So fatal has been their miſcarriage.* Send for a Phyſician e're they be all out of hope, and while there is yet ſome life in 'm. But he will do well to make ſure of his Fee

p. 32.
p. 58.
p. 229.
p. 58.
p. 19.

Fee beforehand, as those that sold the *Fetterus*, a Bird good against the Jaundise, hid it till they were pay'd lest the buyer at first sight be cured. The Great Secret after all is, that the *Prince may and hath Power to transfer the Exercise of the Preisthood upon another, and that he may if he please reserve it to himself.* Is this all? The notion is something new indeed; but he hath deduced it very well, and tis pretty probable: though I have known the time, and many others may remember it when it would not have been granted. I make account the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* is sufficiently impowred by the whole Clergy, at least of *England*: and doubtless therefore his Majesty, among other Princes, will if he find it good and for his service accept the Donation, not much inferiour to that of *Constantine*. 'Tis a great piece of gratitude now in them, and 'twould have done well and more seasonably, had his late Majesty before the War been informed by them in this particular and the dependances. But I have some reason to be jealous that

p. 32.

that the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie* is not thus liberal without ſome deſign; that he hath ſome job or other to be done, and how Unlimited and Abſolute ſoever he hath made and declared the Magiſtrate, there is ſome condition annex'd upon failure of which this Fieſe ſhall Reincamerate. For he was of another opinion in his *Preface to Biſhop* Bramhall, when he ſaid *all Government does and muſt owe its quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage.* Yes: there is another *Croiſade* to be undertaken, and he hath a project in his head to ingage all Princes in a war againſt Non-conformity, a ſecond *Bellum Archidiaconale.* For though he was reſolved to run his head againſt a wall, and very ingenuouſly profeſſes there too, that *if he had ſpoken of it he had without any more adoe ſpoyl'd the Cauſe, if he had not he was content to loſe his Labour*; he intended not it ſhould go ſo eaſily. But in that very firſt Book, while he was in the ſweeteſt temper, in his natural ſereniy, and moſt benign inclinations, not heated or provok'd by any Adverſary; and

p. 30.

Pref. Ec. Pol. p. 46.

and before he had expected one minute what so strong a Reason, what so perswasive eloquence might have effected with the Non-conformists, joyn'd with that interest which he had so many years been creating amongst them, even then at the same time he sounds another *Trumpet* then that in *Sheere-lane*, to Horse, and hem in his Auditory. He proclaims them, for meer dissenting upon tenderness of
p. 241. Conscience, *Villains*, *Hypocrites*, *Re-*
p. 273. *bels*, *Schismaticks*, *and the greatest and*
p. 319. *most notorious Hereticks*. He summons therefore the Magistrate to do his Office that is to impose Ceremonies, which he owns to be indifferent, upon those that hold the contrary, with the severest Penalties, and the strictest Execution. What is this but to put Governors upon the Tenters, to invent how possibly they may run their Subjects into Disobedience, and then to invent and apply the Tortures for their Disobeying? As for the poor Subjects there is no help for them, but he gives them very excellent and Ghostly counsel to *abide their sad Fate*

with

with patience and Resignation; but instead of them he layes his Imposition now upon the Magistrate and leaves him not so much as the Power to will nor chuse; but he must govern by the Laws of *the Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie.* He *must scourge them into order. He must Chastise them out of their peevishness, and Lash them into obedience, There is no remedy but the Rod and Correction. He must restrain them with more rigor than unsanctified Villains. He must expose them to the Correction of the publick Rods and Axes.* Is this at last all the business why he hath been building up all this while that Necessary, Universal, Uncontroulable, Indispensable, Unlimited, Absolute Power of Governors; only to gratifie the humour and arrogance of an Unnecessary, Universal, Uncontroulable, Dispensable, Unlimited and Absolute, Arch-deacon? Still *must, must, must*: But what if the Supream Magistrate won't? Why, *must* again, eight times at least in little more than one page, and thorow his whole book proportionably. This

Eccl. Pol. p. 321.

p. 325.

p. 272.

p. 219.

Eccl. Pol. p. 271.

is (and let him make a Quibble on't if he please) like *Doctor Kalelais* his setting *Julius Cæsar* to beat *Mustard*: and just as worshipful an imployment, as if he should prefer his Majesty from his Kingdom and *Whitehall* to the Government of his Ancient Palace of *Bridewell*. But Laws and Impositions he saith signifie nothing without Penalties, nor these without acting up roundly by rigorous Executions. Therefore that he might be true to his own principles, if the Supream Magistrate be disobedient, he hath provided against him too pretty severely. He hath denounced that in that case men deserve *to perish like* Sardanapalus. That such a Prince *deserves to be King of the Night*, and to conclude, he affirms that *Princes unless they will be resolute*, that is to do what he would
p. 271. have them, *they must not Govern*. 'Tis come to *Nolo igitur regnare*: They had need to take heed of him it seems, and how they behave themselves. But they may very well take all this kindly of him, and as an honour, for it is no less Authority than he exercises over

God

God Almighty. For he will have it that God too *must of necessity have vested Princes in at least as much Power as was absolutely necessary to the Nature and Ends of Government.* And what the Authors ends are we have and shall take occasion more particularly to examine hereafter. Ec. Pol. p. 40.

What needs there further for evidence in this matter, or if men would out of love to justice be more exactly inform'd, let them but read, if their patience will not last longer, the Contents at least of the several Chapters of his *Ecclesiastical Politie*, in this and the other matters. It is sufficient punishment for some Offenders to be placed in publick with their book, or its Title affix'd before them. But because he will not be satisfy'd with that, I shall presume so far on my Readers as to trace him thorow the Maze of what in the *Reproof* he would answer. He insults first because he saith I expose an innocent and undeniable Propositiou of his, that the Magistrate hath such a Power as is before described to govern and conduct the Con- Repr. p. 3.

sciences of his Subjects in affairs of Religion; and yet I say not a word in its confutation: but he forgets that where I quote that, I in the very next line subjoyn thus, *And* pag. 22. *he explains himself more fully: That unless Princes have Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantageous to publick peace and tranquillity and restrain those religions mistakes that tend to its Subversion they are no better than Statues and Images of Authority.* And this I several times inculcated into him; but of this he takes not the least notice I warrant you: 'tis all hush'd. Is not this now a candid Reprover? But because I know he will hereupon be wriggling, I will shew him that these words cannot be interpreted otherwise by him than according to their first appearance and full latitude. He cannot mean it in matters of Ceremony, which indeed he ought to have kept to, but that the subject it seems turn'd into an argument, and led him further to confess and speak out what was in the bottom. For concerning Ceremonies he

Rel. Tr. p. 97.

faith

saith indeed, *That 'tis absolutely necessary that Governers injoyn matters of no great moment and consequence in themselves, thereby to avoid the evil that would naturally attend upon their being not injoyn'd: so that when they are determin'd, though perhaps they are of no great use to the Common wealth in themselves, yet they have at least this considerable usefulness as to prevent many great mischiefs that would probably follow if they were not determined*: A most memorable passage, and that deserves to be recorded as the full sum and state of the controversie. Yet he most ingenuously professes that *All that concerns Religious Worship is no part of Religion it self, but only an Instrument*, &c. *and therefore though the Christians Laws command us by some exterior signs to express our interior Piety, yet they have no where set down any particular expressions of worship and adoration.* So also *All Rituals and Ceremonies and Postures and manners of performing the outward expressions of Devotion are not in their own Nature capable of being Parts of Religion.* And thus in many other places:

Ec. Pol. P. 322.

Ec. Pol. P. 99.

Ec. Pol. P. 106.

So that he hath gained nothing by the first objection which he hath raised but a Proposition not so undeniable, nor very innocent, that the Prince hath Power to bind his Subjects to that Religion which he apprehends most
Repr. p. 6. advantageous, *&c.* His next exception against me is very material, that I have quoted so many passages out of his book. It has I believe indeed anger'd him as it has been no small trouble to me: but how can I help it? I wish he would be pleas'd to teach me an Art (for if any man in the world, he hath it) to answer a book without, *turning over the Leaves* (for that in a former Answer offended him) or without citing the passages: In the mean time if to transcribe so much out of him must render a man as he therefore stiles me a *Scandalous Plagiary* I must plead Guilty: but by the same Law whoever shall either be Witness or Prosecutor, in behalf of the King, for Treasonable words, may be *indicted* for an High-way-man. After this he asks me roundly whether I do seriously believe that his Majesty has no

Power

Power in matters of Religion. Let him first make good his own Assertions, which I have charged him with and then I will tell him more of my mind; yet because he questions me of my Belief (which I believe he never yet did to any man in his own Parsonages, or either at *Ickham* or *Chartham*) I do however count my self obliged to give him some answer, as much as he can chalenge of me; that is, I do most certainly believe that the Supream Magistrate hath some Power, but not all Power in matters of Religion. And particularly, to advance so much further to our *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, I do not believe that Princes have Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantageous. And I will give him a Reason too of this my Belief. He himself saith (and it is worty to be taken good notice of) *that the Fanaticks of late have so imbroiled Christendom, that Christian Princes begin to be of a perswasion, that Christianity is an enemy to Government.* Now it is therefore to be presumed, that he is very con-

Eccl. Pol. p. 179.

verſant and intimate with all the Princes of Chriſtendom. But I ſuppoſe that they reveal'd this ſecret of State to him only in confidence, for I never before heard of it in publick: and it is not ſo ingenuouſly or prudently done of him to proclaim in Print the ſubject of a familiar diſcourſe, and private conference with them. This ſure will make Princes more cautelous for the future, whom they chuſe for their Miniſters, and to believe that even he, unleſs he be better at keeping a ſecret, is not ſo fit to be of their Privy-Counſel: no not in Affairs Eccleſiaſtical. But if it be ſo (as who dare controvert it after ſo authentical authority as the Author's of the *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*) that Princes are indeed perſwaded that Chriſtianity is an Enemy to Government, it is not ſo ſafe to acknowledge that they have Power to bind to what Religion they apprehend moſt advantageous. Eſpecially if it ſhould chance that ſo pliable a Gentleman ſhould be at their elbow, who, out of exceſs of Conformity

formity indulges the greateſt Non-conformity imaginable. *We condemn,* ſaith he, *neither Turks nor Papiſts for their forms and Poſtures of Adoration (unleſs they fall under one or both of the obliquities aforeſaid.) Let them but addreſs the ſame worſhip to its proper object, and we will never ſtand ſtifly with them about their outward Rites and Ceremonies of its expreſſion, but will freely allow them to conform to the ſignificant Cuſtoms of their Countrey, as we do to thoſe of ours.* 'Tis moſt graciouſly done that his *We-ſhip* will allow them it: Will he not ſound a Trumpet too when he has done to give 'm leave to go to dinner? In due time ſure there will be an Hat for him to make him in requital the Cardinal-Deacon. But why will he not carry the good humour thorow, and be as merciful to his Neighbours? All abroad and nothing at home? There have been and are ſeveral Rites and Cuſtoms too in the Countries of *England*, which do neither countenance Vice, nor diſgrace the Deity, and theſe diſſenting people do addreſs the ſame Worſhip to its due

Def. Ep. Pol. p. 286.

due and proper Object. But (not to prevent my self) should he now, that is so clear as to matter of Ceremonies, be back'd at the same time with another Fellow-Prebend of his no less Frank in Religion, who should tell the Princes that he abhors being a Papist as much as being a Presbyterian, and will as soon be a Turk, as he will be either: what might become of us, if the Princes were satisfy'd of their own Power, and of these mens Discretion? It might breed no small alteration in the *affairs* of Christendom. For whatsoever the Papists be, there are many things to be said why the Turks is a very advantageous Religion.

Dr. Pierce *against* Baxter. p. 167.

Rep. p. 3. Then he quotes his Majesties Declaration to make good his —— *making use of that Supream Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, which is not only inherent in the Crown, but has been declared and recognized to be so by several Statutes and Acts of Parliament.* I honour the Quotation, and am come not long since from swearing religiously to own that Supremacy. And it is surely the more valid for having received

received from the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie* this Confirmation. Only it might have been wiſh'd that all his Books had not been writ directly counter to it, and under pretence of gratifying him with Titles he had not cut him out of the Exerciſe and Liberty of his Juriſdiction. But having in his *Eccleſiaſtical Politie* created himſelf Perpetual Dictator, *Nequid Res-clerica detrimenti capiat*, and marching every where with four and twenty *Rods and Axes* before him, he deputes the *Conſul* to be indeed both his *Magiſter Equitum* and his *Pontifex Maximus*: but all along ſpeaks in the *Us* and the *We* of himſelf, and treats the good Civil Uncontrolable Magiſtrate with the *Muſt*, *Muſt*, to evidence his own rigorous Superiority. And in that only place where he ſeems to give the Magiſtrate ſome little Licenſe, he doth it with ſo ill a grace and ſtigmatizes both the Magiſtrate and the People with ſuch a mark and Character, that 'twould put a generous Prince upon ſome deliberation whether he were beſt to make uſe

of

of an authority so ignominiously granted. For all that is to be obtained is this and in these terms. *Should any Prince through unhappy miscarriages in the State be brought into such straits and exigences of affairs as that he cannot restrain the headlong inclinations of his Subjects without the hazard of raising such commotions and disturbances as perhaps he can never be able to allay, and so should be forced in spight of himself to indulge them their liberty in their fancies and perswasions about Religion; yet, unless he will devest himself of a more material and more necessary part of his authority, than if he should grant away his power of the* Militia, *or his Prerogative of ratifying Civil Laws; unless I say, he will thus hazard his Crown and make himself too weak for Government by renouncing the best part of his Supremacy, he* Must *lay an obligation upon all persons to whom he grants this religious freedom, to profess that 'tis matter of meer favour and indulgence, and that he has as much power to govern all the publick affairs of Religion as any other matters that are either conducive or prejudicial to the publick peace*

Ec. Pol. P. 63, 64.

peace and quiet of the Common-wealth. And if they be brought to this Declaration they will but confess themselves (to say no worse) turbulent and Seditious persons, by acknowledging that they refuse their obedience to those Laws which the Supream Authority has just Power to impose. I know not whether all these Solemnities were duely observed in the late Declaration; or whether the failing in some of these Rituals may have render'd it less sacred. But our Authors concession here looks something like the Cardinal *Antonio*'s suffrage, when he could not have his man chosen; *Sia dunque Pamfilio Papa al nome del Diavolo.* However this, such as it is, joyn'd with the former quotation does amount to some kind of Sanction, and the Parties concern'd may do well to consider of it.

He inquires next *whether I have never read or heard of any publick disturbances, under pretence of Religion.* Yes I have and whosoever shall do so deserves to be severely punish'd. *Whether I have not heard of the merry pranks of* John *of* Leyden *and the Anabaptists of* Repr. p. 7.

Repr. p. 8.

of Germany. Yes, and they were handled as they deserved. Nay, moreover I have heard of the Anabaptists too of *New-England*, in a Book Printed in the year 167 :, intituled *Mr.* Baxter *baptiz'd in Blood*, which came out under the License of *the Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*; being therefore as is to be supposed a Book of Theological nature. It was indeed a piece of Ecclesiastical History, which he thought it seems very fit *toreconcile to the present Juncture of Affairs, and recommend to the Genius of the Age: faithfully relating the Cruel Barbarous and Bloody Murther of Mr.* Baxter *an Orthodox Minister, who was kill'd by the Anabaptists and his Skin most cruelly flea'd off from his Body.* And yet from beginning to end there never was a compleater falshood invented. But after the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* had in so many books of his own indeavour'd to harangue up the Nation into Fury against Tender Consciences, there could not have been contrived by the wit of Man, any thing more hopeful to have

bloaded

blooded them upon the Non-conformists than such a Spectacle. and at the end of his Orations to flourish the Skin of an Orthodox Minister in this manner flea'd off by the Anabaptists. So that *Se non era vero fu ben trovato.* And in good earnest I dare not swear but it was *the Author of the Ecclesiastical Polities* own handy work. Several words I observe that he frequently and peculiarly makes use of in his other books, *Concerns, Villains, Villanies, Booby,* &c. but, as for his *brisk and laboured periods,* they may be traced every where. What say you to this for Example? *As the Profession of the Gospel is a most sacred thing, the Doctrine of the Gospel a most holy rule, the Author of our Religion an exemplar and patern of meekness: So when Christians renounce this Sacred Profession, lay aside this Holy Gospel, and abrenunciate Christ the patern of meekness, they soon become the most desperate Villains in the World:* (Ay: very truly said were it but rightly applyed) Never in my life did I read any thing that more lively expresses and nicks the Energy of our Authors

Bax. bap. p. 1.

Authors ſenſe, or the rotundity and cadence of his Numbers: and ſo in many places more too long to be inſtanced. And indeed what reaſon could there be, what likelyhood that any other man ſhould go ſo far out of the way with ſuch a book to him who was the moſt improper Licenſer of things of that Nature? Unleſs he may have therefore been thought the moſt proper Licenſer, becauſe he had given ſo many Teſtimonies as books of his good inclination to ſuch matters; and that (not only in Hiſtory, but even in Doctrine too) he did not ſo nearly conſider the Truth as the Intereſt. And therefore if perhaps he were not the Author, yet I dare undertake that when he came to the Licenſing of that Pamphlet, he felt ſuch an expanſion of heart, ſuch an adlubeſcence of mind, and ſuch an exaltation of ſpirit, that betwixt Joy & Love he could ſcarcely refrain from kiſſing it. And this no man living can deny, that either if he thought there were any fault in it, he took care to correct and fit it for the Preſs with that advantage that it came out,

out, or elſe he found it ſo ſatisfactory that it paſt his approbation without any amendment, and ſo tranſporting that he forgot to keep a Copy for his own juſtification.. And truly had it not chanced that there was preſent and immediate proof upon the place to convict the Forgery as ſoon as publiſhed, it might probably have had the effect for which it was deſigned. However no thanks to the Licenſer, who either was alſo the Author, or the more criminal of the two; by how much the Licenſer is alwayes preſumed to have the ſtricter inſpection, the better judgment, and more honeſty, and is therefore intruſted by my Lord Arch-biſhop to give the ſtamp of publick authority. So that whereas this Author ſaith that, *had but an Act of Parliament to abridge Preachers the uſe of fulſom and luſhious Metaphors, it might perhaps be an effectual Cure of all our Diſtempers*, (what of the dull and lazy one too?) *Let not the Reader ſmile at the odneſs of the Propoſal.* (Neither? Is not that lawful before it come to be enacted, as

Ecc. Pol. P. 76.

certainly it will upon his recommendation?) I must rather say, that had we but an Act of Parliament to abridge Licensers from publishing falsehoods, how sweet soever and luscious, and to command and inable them to authorize truth, there would be a sensible amendment in our modern History, Polity, and Theology. I know he will take it unkindly that this should be revived after, he will say, he hath given so ample satisfaction since for it in his testimonial to the contrary. But he may please to consider that this was since the late Act of General Pardon; that it all happen'd since the writing of the Reproof; that he hath only given a Masterly Certificate as it were from a Justice of Peace, instead of making an humble Recantation as an Offender; that it is but the same Law which he every where would exact of the Nonconformists, and the same right which he does Mr. *B.* in the Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*. Had he but, as they say indeed, he complemented the Anabaptists on this occasion, so Printed it

too,

too, *that he esteem'd them to be the nearest to Truth of all the Dissenters from the Church of* England, it had been some sign of Penitence and Integrity, and amounted to some degree of Restitution.

From this of the Anabaptists, he falls as severely upon the word *Unhospible*, which I it seems used in representing his *Untimited*, &c. But whereas I only threw it out like empty Cask to amuze him, knowing that I had a *Whale* to deal with, and least he should overset me; he runs away with it as a very serious business, and so moyles himself with tumbling and tossing it, that he is in danger of melting his *Sperma Ceti*. A Cork I see will serve without an Hook, and in stead of an Harping Iron, this grave and ponderous Creature may like Eeles be taken and pull'd up only with bobbing. What adoe he makes with Tubs, Kinderkins, Hogsheads, and their dimensions! that you might suspect him first to have served as Gager of the *Lambeth* brewing? I wonder that he should descend to so low

imployment: but even that prudent Emperor *Claudius* publish'd an Edict *de bene Picandis Dolsis*. And I perceive that a person of considerable Ecclesiastical Tunnage, did very lately *resemble the Church of* England *with its Ceremonies to a Vessel which* must of necessity *be composed of Staves, Hoops, Withs and Pins: but if the Pins were pull'd out, then of consequence the Withs slacken, the Hoops ungird, and the Staves fall all asunder into confusion*, so that you see the Trope of an Hoop is not so Apocryphal. And I should have thought that, if not out of respect to the Church of *England*; yet had it been only out of reverence to *Cornelius* his Tub among the rest, it might have becom'd the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* upon this occasion to have been something more sericus.

And no less does he intangle himself in another line of mine, weak enough I confess, yet though of but a single hair strong enough to land him. 'Tis where I chanc'd to say, that *he hath given here the Magistrate so infinite a power that it is extended to impetency as a*

streigh

ſtright Line continued grows a Circle. Here indeed I am hard put to't it, and I begin too late to be ſenſible of my raſhneſs in provoking ſo terrible an Adverſary. But in good earneſt I thought it enough when I wrote it, that in any ſmall Segment of a great Circle the curvature is not perceptible, but rectifies more by how much the Figure is extended. And at the ſame time I reflected, that if mine Author ſhould carp at it (for I foreſaw very well all the way where he would take hold, and where he would as ſoon eat his fingers) I would refer him as being an Eccleſiaſtical Mathematician to Cardinal *Cuſanus* his Treatiſe *de Docta Ignorantia*, p. 10. c. 14. where he might ſee in the Diagram: *Quod Infinita Linea ſit Triangulus*, and p. 11. c. 15. *Quod ille Triangulus ſit Circulus.* But if this will not ſatisfie him, let him try concluſions with his own Girdle, which circumſcribes ſomthing that is Infinite. And no leſs conſiderable is that which he undertakes *to maintain that all Figures are Hoopable*: and I on the contrary will defend that if he can make

make that good, he hath found out the Circle of the Quadrature.

From hence he runs out into Plays *designing*, as he told us his Friend did of the *Friendly Debate*, *to set off his Reasonings with a Comical humour and pleasantness*. I must here acknowledge the defect of my reading. For *Du Fy* I have not heard of, and it might better have become him to have quoted in stead of the *Conquest*, the Arch-bishop of *Granada*. But for what he recites out of the *Rehearsal* and the Kings of *Branford*, I understand it better, and seeing he is pleas'd to alter the Scene, I shall joyn with him, and try whether the humour of *Bayes* be so worn out that it may not give the Auditory a second dayes diversion. For indeed, 'tis too ceremonious and tiresome to repeat so often upon all occasions the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, and though I bear him great respect, yet I had rather of the two offend him than my Readers. He does indeed complain of it something pathetically that I should have fix'd that name upon him, and in good earnest could

could I have yet in all this while have invented any name more consonant and agreeable to his Character, I would have chang'd for it. Neither did I at first make use of the *Rehearsal* so much in order to make merry with him as for a more publick and serious advantage. For having observed that he and others of his Coat did, for want either of Reading, Wit, or Piety, as oft as they would be facetious, make bold with the Scripture; thinking too perhaps that being so long acquainted they might be more familiar with it; I had a mind to show them by this example, that there was not so much need of Prophaneness to be ridiculous, or to take the Sacred Writings in vain; but that if they did but take up at adventure any book that was commonly read, known or approved of, they had the same and better opportunity than out of the Bible, to gather thence variety, allusion, and matter sufficient to make the people merry: and I hope I have attain'd my end in some measure. But beside this, I have now one Reason more and his own Autho-

rity to treat him under this Title, he having been since so far in love with the name, as even to send to *Colchester* to procure him as much *Bayes* as would
.20. serve for a Facing. One thing indeed he objects with some fading colour that there is an errour in Chronology, the Play of the *Rehearsal*, not having been made publick til after his first Book came out which yet is something excusable, seeing it was publish'd before his second or third, and to be sure however before mine. But you know Mr. *Bayes*, that you wanted not not the opportunity to see it long before it was Printed, and that Comedy, as all judicious and lasting things ought, was long consider'd of ere it was thought fit to come abroad. Had you follow'd the same example; and not divulged and promulgated your *Preface to Bishop* Bramhall, as you confess *before your thoughts were cool enough, or could possibly be so, to review or correct the indecencies either of its stile or contrivance*, had you *but had either leisure or patience to examine it*, all this labour might have been spared betwixt you

Pref. B. B. p. 2. *and* p. *last.*

you and me, and I for mine own part ſhould never have *tired either your ſelf or the Reader.* But that I may be quit with you for ſo weighty an *Emendatio temporum*; have you not obſerv'd that your *Hickringil* or *Gregory*, though not publiſhed till after your *Reproof* foretells of it nevertheleſs, threatning what a vengeance Book was impending over me? *That I muſt ſhortly be diſciplin'd by another hand, adviſing me to ſay my Prayers, and tremble at the Rod that was coming upon me, except I thought it the wiſeſt way to ſave the* Hang-man *a labour.* It is a title ſo honourable that I ſhould ſcarce have adventur'd to give it him, but ſeeing he thinks fit to aſſume it, you may ſhift and divide it as you can betwixt you. This was I confeſs the moſt authentick way of Prophecy imaginable, it being fulfill'd before hand, but the worſt piece of Chronology that ever I heard of. Indeed, Mr. *Bayes*, it appears to me very evident, that as I told you before this *Hickringill*, was your own book, and it was Licens'd too by your ſelf, as cer-

Greg. p. 196.

certainly as *Baxter baptiz'd in blood.* The Strains and Recherches are all along exactly the same with those of the *Reproof.* Read but for example in the very same page in answer to what I say of the King of *Polands* being obliged to wear that Countrey habit. *For which unsufferable affront to His Majesties our Gracious Soveraign his Crown and Dignity Hereditary and not Elective, and at the good will either of People or Parliament, I leave him to be chastiz'd for this bold intrenchment and invasion of our Kings Prerogative and Title to his Crown.* Then read your *Reproof. This is an impudent intrenchment upon his Majesties Crown and Prerogative, for the* Polish *Kingdom being Hereditary and not Elective, the Parliament deals with their Kings as,* &c. *Friend by your Politick Lecturet you indanger your head,* &c. Was there ever such a double Pick-lock of the Law, to find out such a dangerous *innuendo?* But thus those twin-books sympathize all thorow, although the *Reproof* was brought forth a considerable time before the other. Only, Mr. *Bayes,* as when

Greg. p. 196.

Gregor. p. 244.

Repr. p. 498.

when in the *Rehearſal* you once reſolv'd that for your *firſt Prologue you would come out in a long black veil with an huge Hangman behind you with a furr'd cap, and his Sword drawn*; you could not for a long time determine whether the *Reproof* or *Hiſtingill* ſhould be *the Prologue for the Epilogue, or the Epilogue for the Prologue*; whether your firſt or your ſecond ſelf ſhould come foremoſt. But having ſeveral things in your two books, ſome fit as you thought to be ſaid in anothers perſon, and others in your own, you ſtood a great while thumming the Buſk of your *Comfortable Importance*, whether, whether, to divine which of theſe two ſhould firſt be hatched, and *which leg ſhould go firſt*. And from this irreſolution and controverſie aroſe this moſt groſs and yet moſt ſubtle errour in your Chronology, which would require another *Scaliger* to reform it. The Caſe is parallel, and you were even ſo puzzled betwixt thoſe two books as you were at *Canterbury* betwixt your two Capacities, how you ſhould take place

Reh. Com. p. 7.

Ibid.

Reh. Com. p. 30.

not

not only of others, but even of your ſelf; whether as you were Arch-deacon, or as you were youngeſt Prebend: and, though an alternative had been more adviſable, you determined that in all Enterviews with your ſelf (which are not ſo frequent except in your Looking-glaſs) and in all publick Solemnities among others, the Arch-deacon ſhould both in Place and Time have the Precedence.

Having I hope thus far done you right in matter of Chronology, I ſhall indeavour no leſs to ſatisfie you in point of Comedy, and your politick argument concerning the danger of a diſtinct jurisdiction in Civil affairs, and thoſe of Conſcience which you very weightily fetch from the two Kings of *Branford*. And therefore be pleas'd to accept as ſerious a Reply from the ſame Author *to conclude Sir, the Place you fill has more than amply exacted the Talents of a wary Pilot, and all theſe threatning ſtorms, which like impregnant clouds do hover o'r our heads (when they once are graſp'd but by the eye of reaſon) melt into fruitful ſhowres of bleſſings*

Reh. Con. p. 12.

bleſsings on the people. Or if you have ſomething to object againſt this, take your Anſwer from the Kings themſelves at their reſtauration. *Now Mortals that hear how we tilt and career, With wonder will fear The event of ſuch things as ſhall never appear.* For no leſs cauſeleſs are the apprehenſions which you raiſe up, Mr. *Bayes*, concerning Conſciencious people under an equal Government. *Reh. Com.* p. 44.

I cannot now but take ſome notice of another argument, your threatning me here and in ſeveral other places with the loſs of mine Ears, which however are yet in good plight, and apprehend no other danger, Mr. *Bayes* but to be of your Auditory. But it is no leſs than you have projected againſt all the Non-conformiſts, to the great prejudice of the Nation, in waſting ſo unſeaſonably ſo much good Timber to make *whipping-Poſts* for them and *Pillories*. This hath been a conſiderable part indeed of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie, and doubtleſs a moſt effectual means of Converſion, and bringing men over to the Church of *England*. *Repr.* p. 25. 31. 76.

I cannot tell where you have learnt it, unleſs from the Wiſdom and Piety of the *Tartars*, who in the year 1240. though they left upon every mans head one ear ſtanding, yet fill'd no leſs than Nine huge Sacks with the ears that they cut off of the Chriſtians. But there is no perill as far as I perceive to either of us; for my Ears Mr. *Bayes* do not ſo much as glow for all your talking of them, and I will ſecure yours at leaſt upon one account for you are ſo far from running away like *Evagrius* for fear of a Biſhoprick, that much leſs will you like *Ammonius* cut off one of your own Ears to render your ſelf uncapable of that Office.

Del Rio. p. 144.

Socr. l. 4. c. 18.

There follows one thing more which I know is perſonally intended to me, but you have couch'd it ſo darkly, that at firſt I could my ſelf ſcarce underſtand it. You tell of an Antique Medal.

Repr. p. 27. *On the Reverſe whereof was graved Th' alliance betwixt Chriſt and* David.

and deſire me to tell you in what Emperors

perors time it was coyned. Why, it was as I remember in the year 1650. and of *the Government of the People of* England *precedent and preſent the ſame.* But if you would hereby inſinuate any thing either concerning my ſelf or my Father, I ſhall once for all unriddle in two or three lines the myſterie of this your quotation, becauſe otherwiſe ſuch nodding reflexions impreſs the Reader more effectually than your more *brisk and laboured* Calumnies which at other times you word more plainly, and vent more openly againſt us. This therefore is a greater errour in Chronology than your former; for as to my ſelf, I never had any, not the remoteſt relation to publick matters, nor correſpondence with the perſons then predominant, until the year 1657. when indeed I enter'd into an imployment, for which I was not altogether improper, and which I conſider'd to be the moſt innocent and inoffenſive toward his Majeſties affairs of any in that uſurped and irregular Government, to which all men were then expoſed. And this I accordingly

cordingly discharg'd without disobliging any one person, there having been opportunity and indeavours since his Majesties happy return to have discover'd had it been otherwise. But as to my Father, he dyed before ever the War broke out, having lived with some measure of reputation, both for Piety and Learning: and he was moreover a Conformist to the established Rites of the Church of *England*, though I confess none of the most over-running or eager in them. I desire you, Mr. *Bayes*, to make my excuse to the Readers for having troubled them so far with my private affairs, by your occasion. But whether they will so easily admit my excuse, for you I know not, you having by the servility of your performances since manifested, that, had you then been of age sufficient, you would not have declined a more homely imployment, which as you may read in *Philip de Comines*, another *Oliver*, a Barber, discharged under *Lewis* the Eleventh. For the rest as to the Distich you have here quoted, whosoever

was

was its Author, it might better have become your Divinity to have suppreſt ſo profane an alluſion; but that, as I have told you before, and ſhall often have occaſion, you have a ſingular ſnickering after Scripture Drollery: It may ſeem to ſome by the manner of your expreſſion as if you had a mind to aſcribe it to me: but I reſign all my intereſt in it to you and moſt men that are converſant about Town know very well who was the Author, who dyed ſome years ſince: and it may concern you, for ſome reaſons not out of reſpect to be named, to take heed that you come not to reſemble him in two of his Capacities.

There remain ſtill behind ſome Figures of Braſs which you beſtow upon me, as *Coloſſus of braſs*, in requital to which I can onely return you *Coloſſeros*. *Braſs upon Braſs is falſe Heraldry*: but Salt upon Salt is not. *Brazen Brow. Out-brazen. Braſs-copper*, and I know not how many more of the ſame Metal and Statuary. I cannot poſſibly learn or imagine

where you have improved your talent to such proficience, unless perhaps you have practised with a Modern Divine who is said to have appear'd not many years ago, and Preached in the Copper-Mines of *Sweden*. And indeed such is your performance here all along, and much more hereafter when you treat concerning the most sacred arguments, that I suspect it is not all your own; but (though I shall not therefore call you *a Scandalous Plagiary*) that you have attracted by force of Phantasy some extraordinary Spirit to your assistance. As *Cicero* said on another occasion

——— *Multa quidem Ipse,*
Multa sed & Dæmon tibi suggerit.——

So that I hope the Readers will in so unequal a contest assist me also, at least with their good wishes, and should I be worsted in such discourse or rather absolutely decline it, that yet they will not think the worse of me. Had he but wrote like a Man only, I might possibly have answer'd him: but

but where there appears ſomething more than Humane in the buſineſs, I may well be excuſed.

But though in his Railing he is more than Man, he hath as moderate and reaſonable a Reaſoning as other Mortals: and that being therefore more proportionable to my weakneſs, I ſhall deal with as ſoon as I can find it; for it hath that advantage, that it is for the moſt part Inviſible. But in the mean time I ſhall, to ſhew him how juſtly I might have declined all this trouble, quote him two Authors, the one Civil, other Eccleſiaſtical, ſo nearly related to himſelf, and this Controverſie that till he has anſwer'd them, I account my ſelf under no obligation. The firſt his fellow-Chaplain Doctor *Tomkins*, who in the laſt Act at *Oxford*, the Queſtion being, *An Jurisdictio Poteſtatis Civilis gaudiant Poteſtate Clavium*: held it in the Negative, and being urged with all the teſtimonies and arguments to the contrary out of the *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, the Profeſſor was fain to help him out at a dead lift, diſavowing his authority in the face of the

whole Country and Universitty in plain terms: *Non stamus hujus Autoritati.* Now where two persons so eminent and equal in Learning, the two Say-masters of Orthodoxy, and of whom all Theology must ask License, are of so contrary opinion in the very Fundament ls of Ecclesiastical Government, is it not time to have a general Vacation, and that all private Proces should be respited till so dangerous a division betwixt the two *Pins of the Church of* England, be again cimented? The other is the supposed Father of the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* (for as long as his Book is nameless, I can alwayes speak of him only at random) in that Tract before mentioned *the Government of the People of* England *preccdent and present the same.* It was writ to spirit men to subscribe to the Ingagement *to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth as then established without a King or the House of Lords*: and there he asserts that, *Populus suo Magistratu prior est tempore, natura & dignitate: quia Populus Magistratum constituit & quia Populus sine Magi-*

Magistratu esse potest sed Magistratus sine Populo non potest esse. Also out of another classical Author, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, he affirms: *Reges sunt a Populo & sunt constituti causa Populi.* More he undertakes to prove that the Kings of *England* had no Negative voice rightfully and by Law, but that it was contrary to the Law and their Oath at Coronation. And then *a fortiori*, that the Lords neither can have any Negative upon the People. That Acts of Parliament may pass and be valid without consent of the Lords Spiritual: and many other passages of an higher nature, if higher could be, which I cite not, least the very reading of them should prejudice the publick, that Book being the very Quintessence of a Sub-Committee-man turn'd Sergeant at Law, and of the High-Court of Justice. It befitted our Author to have wash'd off the blood from his own Threshold before he had accused others: and no man is ingaged to answer his Necessary, Universal, Uncontroulable, Unappealable, Indispensable, Unlimited, Absolute

ſolute Magiſtrate, as long as his own Father ſtands upon Record againſt him, and he *ſpends not ſo much as one Quible in his confutation.* Nevertheleſs I will ſuper errogate and uſe all the means poſſible to find ſome more cleanly ſpot in him: though indeed he does all over ſo wallow and coat himſelf in dirt, that he is almoſt impenetrable, and, unleſs his Skin were flea'd of like *Baxter's*, there is no touching him without pollution.

Ref^n. p. 17. and p. 30. He expoſtulates with me for *perverting the whole Deſign of his Book.* What do I know the Deſigns that are managed betwixt him and his Book when they are together in Private? But when any diſcourſe is made publick, it muſt abide the common interpretation: and *Sit Liber Reus Teſtis & Index.* You know very well that, though no man ever ſpoke more perſpicuouſly and fully then *Calvin* concerning the Obedience due to Magiſtrates, yet for one particular paſſage *De Privatis heminibus ſemper loquor Nam ſi qui nunc ſint populares Magiſtratus*, &c. he is upon all occaſions dreſs'd

dreſs'd up by your ſelf and others of your make as the bug-bear of Princes. Therefore, Mr. *Bayes*, you ſhould have done well to admoniſh your book, if it would needs be treating of Government, yet by his example to have learn't diſcretion and to weigh every word; for you cannot imagine what hurt a ſilly well-meaning book may do in the world far from its intention: but if it have on the contrary a felonious intention, and not having the fear of God before its Eyes, as I doubt yours has not, you know then that it may do more miſchief than you can ever make amends for. And this is all the matter depending betwixt your Book and me, for ought I can perceive by you. The conteſt is rather of the Truth of Fact than the Truth of Opinion; and a diſpute rather of the Eye than the Underſtanding. Your Book hath ſaid ſo and ſo concerning the Magiſtrate as you have ſeen in my former quotations. And now you come and would bear me down with more then ordinary confidence that your Book ſaid no ſuch thing, or elſe you under- *Repr.* 381.

ſtand its ſenſe better than it ſelf. Therefore pray let us ſee, Mr. *Bayes*, what you have to alledge: but in the mean time what have my Readers and I to do but to pity one another? I muſt quote all over again, and they read it all and you will affirm and deny; deny and affirm, without any regard to Truth or Honeſty; and yet all this and more we muſt indure out of Love to Juſtice. But I hope at leaſt, Mr. *Bayes*, that if I do convince you that the quotations are right on my part, you will be ſo ingenuous as to put me upon no further trouble, but confeſs your Book miſunderſtood you and was in an errour. For if there be no fault in the Matter, why ſhould you deny it?

Repr. p. 2. You ſay that what you affirm'd of the Magiſtrates Authority to take upon him the exerciſe of the Prieſthood, was only *as things ſtood in the bare ſtate of Nature*: and, though you ſaid the Magiſtrates Power was antecedent to Chriſt, *yet its continuance depends meerly upon his Confirmation, in that* (very politically ſaid) *whatever*

Repr. p. 27.

Prince

Prince does not reverse a former grant confirms it. Let us see how it is possible that these should either be your words or meaning. *The Priestly and the Royal Office in the first ages of the world, and for well nigh 2500 years descended together and upon the same person.* Then *this* same *Power because it must be seated somewhere can only properly belong to him in whom the Supream Power resides.* Then: *For he alone having authority to assign to every Subject his proper function, and among others this of the Priesthood, as he may transfer the exercise thereof to another so may he if he please reserve it to himself.* And therefore *this the Wisdom of the elder ages always practised.* Can there be any thing more plain under Heaven, then that you distinguish the elder times against these, and having done so, then assert that what was constant in those former times remains still the same, and that of necessity? But go on: *this* same *Power was firmly establish'd in the World by the unalterable dictates of* Natural *Reason and Universal Practice and Consent of Nations.* And

Ec. Pol. P. 32. & 1.

Ec. Pol. p. 35. And then: *though in the* Jewish *Common-wealth for peculiar reasons of State, the two Offices of King and Priest were*

Ec. Pol. p. 38. *separated, yet the Power of the Priest remain'd subject to the other.* But this was only a present interruption. For then: *our Saviour at his birth came not to diminish the* Natural *rights of Princes,* so that all of them (for the *Jewish* Common-wealth was already dissolved by the *Romane* power, and by his coming;) were reinstated certainly in

Ec. Pol. p. 33. the Royal and Priestly Office as before, *for he came not to set up any new Models of Polity.* But however: *when Christianity had prevail'd long after to be the Imperial Religion, then its Government began to resettle where* Nature *had*

Ec. Pol. p. 48. *placed it,* nay so far it went that *therefore the Divine Providence did begin to with-*

Ec. Pol. p. 49. *draw, the miraculous power of the Church* (and you can tell us why too here, though the Jewish reasons of State for some peculiar reason you thought fit should be private;) *For the necessity ceased, the Power of Miracles being now*

Ec. Pol. p. 54. *as well supplyed by the* Natural *and ordinary power of the Prince.* And then came

came the *Pope* as you told us before, and then came the *Reformation* which was almost as bad it seems, for *though it wrought wonderful alterations in the Christian world, yet it has not been able* (but you it seems have been able) *to resettle Princes in their full and* Natural *rights in reference to the Concerns of Religion.* Now, Mr. *Bayes*, what is become of your Excuse, that you *affirm'd this Power in the bare state of Nature, but not under the guidance of Revelation, nor indifferently to all ages and periods of the Church under whatsoever positive Laws and different Institutions?* whereas your whole business has been to prove that Princes and mankind are herein still under the bare state of Nature, though your Book perhaps did not intend it. But pray therefore Reprove your Book, Reprove even your *Reproof*, and if that will not serve, *take it under Correction*; but if it prove incorrigible, I know not what course I should advise you to take with such a Rascal. For it hath said beside, *To what purpose should Christ grant Princes a new Commission, when*

Ex Pol. P. 56.

Rep. P. 23.

this

this Power, was already so firmly esta-blish'd in the World by the unalterable dictates of Natural reason, &c? And this perhaps, out of your Natural indulgence to your own book, you took no notice of. But by this means what becomes of that Confirmation of
Repr. p. 8. *Christs* which you speak of? For, as your book argues very strongly it must have been either an Usurpation or impertinent. And whereas you say; *That though the Magistrate were vested with an Ancient and Antecedent Right, yet its Continuance, ever since our Saviour commenced his Empire, depends wholly upon his Confirmation: in that whatsoever Prince does not Reverse a former Grant Confirms it*, however the Truth prove to be in Fact, yet it is not much obliged to your Argument. For that *who does not reverse a former Grant confirms it*, Supposes that the Power of Nature was equal, if not Superior, to that of our Saviour. For where a New and Superior Power is introduced all former Grants are null unless they be expressly Confirmed. And so, if the Power of *Christ* were Superior to that of Nature,

tute, and he hath not positively Confirmed that Authority of the Civil Magistrate, it is absolutely extinguished, & the Magistrate hath no Power at all left him, but runs into a *Præmunire* by exercising it. Beside you call the Original of the Magistrates Authority, the *Unalterable dictate of Natural Reason*: so *Christs* Confirmation could have signifyed nothing. For what is unalterable is unconfirmable; and yet this too was in the state of depraved Nature. Nevertheless such is your inconsistence, that you own our Saviours Authority to be Superior. And it befitted you so to do, for, if you will believe him, *All Power was given him in Heaven and Earth.* And he did not confirm it, and therefore he did confirm it. For *the Scripture*, you say, *rather supposes then asserts it*, and *Every Prince not reversing a former Grant confirms it.* This is your Argument. Nay, but further if you read *p.* 40. There is a solemn Renunciation, as full as could be drawn up by Counsel, of any Power of *Christ* in the whole matter, *we derive not therefore the Magistrates Ecclesiasti-*

Ex. Pol. p. 39.

Ex. Pol. p. 40.

cal

cal Jurisdiction from any grant of our Saviours; but from an antecedent right wherewith all Soveraign Power was indued before ever he was born into the World. Here is an Ingagement with a witness, beyond that of 1650. Fathers nown Son. And *will you be true and faithful to the Government establish'd, without Christ,* &c? And is the Reproof then writ to prove *that the Government of* England *precedent to* Christ *and present is the same?* and *Ad subscribentes Confirmandum, Dubitantes Informandum, Opponentes Convincendum?* For in this I suppose 'twas not your Books fault only, but you and it were both of the same opinion; which is the reason that you say, *we derive it not*: that is sure you and your Book. For if you meant it otherwise, you should have done well to shew your Plenipotence from all those that authorized you. However methinks, betwixt You and your Book, you might have had more wit than to have excluded any Grant of our Saviours, whatsoever, unless (as indeed you treat him like other Princes and *Crown'd heads*, only allowing him

him a Power ſomething leſs than to others and more moderate) you confine his everlaſting Kingdom to the day of his Birth, and date his Dominion that is infinite from *Anno Domini & Anno Regni noſtri primo.* And now after all this, I leave it to the moſt candid or ſevereſt Reader to judge, whether for one in your caſe to affirm *that you ſpoke of the Magiſtrates exerciſing the Prieſthood in his own perſon; only in the bare ſtate of nature*; and *that you did not make the Magiſtrates Power independent herein from Chriſt*; be not a flat contradiction to your ſelf, and ſo outfacing to all ingenuity, that had you not firſt waſh'd your face in Stygian water, it were impoſſible for you to perſiſt without bluſhing. And what detriment the Church of *England* might ſuffer upon this occaſion, I leave it to themſelves to conſider. But I perceive ſome are wiſer then ſome, and, though you were ſo forward as to undertake this ſide of the Argument, yet it was ſo order'd betwixt you or ſomewhere elſe, that Doctor *Tomkins* ſhould defend the con-

contrary. For the Church of *England* is so intelligent, as not to trust all in one Doctors bottom: but knows that it is good having two Strings to the Ecclesiastical Bow, that if one break the other may hold.

Neither, considering what you have thrown out upon this occasion, was it at all improperly said by me that if the King might exercise the Priesthood in his own person it was all the reason of the world that he should [illegible] assume the Revenue. This, though [illegible] the only passage in my whole [illegible] that could possibly be perverted [illegible] ill sense in this matter, is by you [illegible] rest of your *Scaramuccios* invidiously applyed and aggravated both here and in many other places at large, as if it had been seriously intended by me for his Majesties assuming the Church Revenue. Whereas it appears to have been meant quite contrary, and only to represent your Malice in defaming the Government, or those persons eminently instrumental under his Majesty both in Church and State, as if there were some such counsel

counſel or deſign on foot; and to ſhow you how ridiculous your fear was (if it were not counterfeit) of any ſuch matter, and to fright you ſomthing the more with your own argument. For indeed though you acuſe me as if I put his Majeſty in mind to violate his Coronation Oath for preſerving the Rights of the Church, it was all that I ſaid only to put you in mind, that, if the Magiſtrate may exerciſe the Prieſthood in his own perſon, any ſuch Coronation Oath was in it ſelf invalid; as being contrary to *the unalterable Dictates of Natural Reaſon*: and that, if he did exerciſe the Prieſthood himſelf, he was by that Oath perjured, unleſs he himſelf alſo aſſumed the Revenue. For though you are pleaſant, and ſay that by the ſame reaſon he may as well, becauſe he is the Supream Civil Magiſtrate, aſſume the Revenues of the Laity; the argument holds not: foraſmuch as the Eccleſiaſtical Maintenance is annex'd to the Function, and, this being extinguiſhed, that devolves naturally upon the King; or, the King exerciſing the Function himſelf, *Repr.* p. 24.

ſelf, the Revenue is ſo much the more due to him and ſuch other Lay-perſons as he ſhall depute under him in ſtead of the Clergy. But this being a thing ſo diſſonant to mine own and other mens ordinary conceptions, (though I ſhall ſhow you in a fitter place hereafter why you ought ſtill to continue in the ſame opinion) I left you to be reſponſible for your own conſequences; For that you may underſtand, Mr. *Bayes*, that I am none of thoſe that, were I in capacity, could give any ſo pernicious advice, I tell you, and deſire you henceforward to take notice of it; that I am ſo far from thinking enviouſly of the Revenue of the Church of *England*, that (though I will not as you do call that *Sacriledge* which makes up the eſtates of ſo many of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, and of which the Church too hath its part, if it be Sacriledge,) that I think in my Conſcience it is all but too little, and wiſh with all my heart that there could be ſome way found out to augment it. But in the mean time, to tell you my heart, for what

needs

needs dissembling among friends?) I am inclinable to think, as the Revenue now stands, there is sometimes an errour in the Distribution. And for example, I think it is a shame that such an one as you should for writing of Political, flattering, persecuting, scandalous Books, be recompens'd with more preferment, then would comfortably maintain ten Godly Orthodox and Conformable Ministers, who take care of the peoples Souls committed to their charge and reside among them. Whereas you, as being too great for your Sacred imployment, must be exercising it by your Spiritual Deputy or Deputies, and one of them so notorious, that, though married, it was his usual practice, under pretence of studying late at night for his Sermons, to lye with his Maid *Mary Parker* before-mentioned, and in stead of instructing your Parish in the *Fruits of the Spirit*, he gave them an example of the *Works of the Flesh*, which *are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanness, Lasciviousness*, &c. so far indeed excusable, if,

Gal. 5. 19.

as 'tis ſaid, after he had finiſhed the work, he attempted to adminiſter ſomething to undoe it again, and make the fruit abortive. You in the mean time, as if you were an Exempt of the Clergy, and as Parſon can tranſmit over the Cure of Souls to your Curate, ſaunter about City and Countrey whither your gilt Coach and extravagance will carry you, ſtarving your People and pampring your Horſes, ſo that a poor man cannot approach *their heels* without dying for't. I ſpeak not of ſtale Achroniſmes, but of things that really happen'd all ſince the writing of your *Reproof*, and which deſerve one better. For what reaſon can you alledge why you ſhould gluttonize and devour, as much as would honeſtly ſuffice ſo many of your Brethren that take pains in the word, like the great Eater of *Kent* when you are either ſo unable or ſo *dull and lazy* that you do not one mans labour? This is the great bane and ſcandal of the Church, that ſuch Livings as more immediately belong to it ſhould be the worſt ſupplyed, and that you and ſome few

few Ingroſſers like you ſhould repreſent your ſelves by ſo ignorant and vicious Curates, men not fit to be mention'd in the ſame Collect, and upon whom indeed *the Spirit of Grace* cannot deſcend but by *Miracle* : and while things are no better order'd, it is not ſtrange at all if Non conformity take root and ſpred further among Conſciencious perſons, nor that the Revenue of the Church, though in it ſelf too ſlender, ſhould nevertheleſs appear too great and envious by the manner of Diſtribution. This is more then I ſhould have ſaid, had not you by your unſeaſonable diſcourſes drawn it out of me, but however is intended principally to your ſelf : though as long as the Church ſhall not think fit to repreſs ſuch Writers it is unavoidable, but that ſome faults already too viſible ſhould be mention'd.

But to proceed : You ſay, *that I have upbraided you with aſcribing an infinite jurisdiction to Princes without any regard to the Divine Laws, and* Repr. p. 10. *that you give an Eccleſiaſtical authority*

Repl. p. 15. & 16. *to the Civil Magiſtrate abſolutely Paramount to any other Juriſdiction whereas you mention it*, you ſay, *only in defiance to the claim of any other Humane Power.* What ſhall I anſwer in this caſe? Will you not remember that you ſay your *Power of the Prince is antecedent to* Chriſt; that *it was eſtabliſhed ſuch by the unalterable dictates of Natural reaſon?* That *God of Neceſſity muſt have given them ſuch power?* If it be antecedent to *Chriſt*, how is it accountable to him? It eſtabliſhed by natural reaſon, does it not reſult only from man as a looſe and free agent however produced, and though from the *Veſicles of the Earth* yet acting by Nature? and if God of neceſſity muſt give the Magiſtrate this Power, do you not make God accountable rather to him; and may not the Magiſtrate bring his action againſt the Deity *de Poteſtate imminuta*, or accuſe him *Læſa Majeſtatis*? So that hereby the ſum of your Doctrine appears to be (if without offence I may name it) that your Prieſtly and Uncontroulable Power of the Civil Magiſtrate is Antecedent

to

to *Christ*, Contemporary to the World, nay at leaſt Co-eternal, if not Pre-eternal, to God himſelf. And this is the more ſtrongly confirm'd by your aſſerting, which I told you of, that the *Magiſtrate hath Power to bind his Subjects to that Religion that he apprehends moſt advantageous to publick Peace and Tranquillity:* So that he may if he chuſe his Religion chuſe his God too, unto whoſe Jurisdiction he will be accountable, and if he begin to think as you ſay he does, *that Chriſtianity is an Enemy to Government*, he may make uſe of Paganiſm. But ſtill you clamour *that when you aſſerted the Soveraign Power to be Abſolute, Uncontrolable, twas not to be underſtood ſo in regard to God.* (Why then pray do not brave it and juſtifie your ſelf at this rate, but make your ſubmiſſion humbly, and acknowledge your offence as an honeſt man ſhould do) And that, *when you ſaid 'twas Abſolute and Unlimited, no man, unleſs he would give his mind to miſunderſtanding, could underſtand it in any other ſenſe, than that it was not confined to matters purely Civil, but extended its*

jurisdiction to matters of Eccleſiaſtical Importance, (that is the word it ſeems in all ſenſes, *Comfortable, Cloſe, Eccleſiaſtical*) *upon which account alone you determin'd it to be Abſolute, Univerſal and Uncontroulable.* Why I perceive you did not, or would not obſerve what I had all the while been driving at and of what I was all along jealous; that the thing would not end there, but that, as you had given to certain Uſes, and for certain Valuable Conſiderations an Univerſal and Abſolute Power to the Prince in Eccleſiaſticals, ſo you would, if it were but out of Revenge, beſtow the ſame upon him in Civils.

But you ſay: *there was never a man* Repr. p. 21. *of ſuch immodeſty in the world to charge you with theſe things, whereas you know no Writer ancient or Modern that hath ſo vehemently and induſtriouſly aſſerted the contrary, ſpending two whole Chapters in your firſt Book, to prove, that the Opinion of the Unlimited humane Authority was no leſs than rank Atheiſm and Blaſphemy, and ſubverts the Power of all Governments, and ſafety of all Societies.*

Ay

Ay a very good man are you: hold you there. But I hinted to you once before, Mr. *Bayes*, that this writing forſooth againſt Atheiſm from the firſt hath ſtood you in very good ſtead, and under pretence of confuting Mr. *Hobbs* (who I believe could explain himſelf as innocently as you have done) you have uſher'd in whatſoever Principles men lay to his charge, only diſhuiſed under another Notion to make them more venerable. Nay, in good earneſt, I do not ſee but your *Behemoth* exceeds his *Leviathan* ſome foot long, in whatſoever he ſaith of the Power of the Magiſtrate in matters of Religion and Civils; ſave that you have levyed the *Inviſible Powers* to your aſſiſtance, the better to fright men out of their Wits, their Conſciences and their Proprieties. I have told you in my former Book that I do really believe you are no Atheiſt, and however I know you have ſo much wit as to keep it to your ſelf, though not perhaps to avoid ſome operations, which if followed home, might in due time lead to it. But to what purpoſe

purpose is it, Atheism, or not Atheism, and what difference in the matter, if under pretext of Divinity an Uncontroulable Principle be insinuated and obtruded to the invasion of all the Rights of Mankind and Priviledges of Reason: if an Unlimited and Absolute Power be challenged in things of Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, and of Civil as well as those of Ecclesiastical Consideration? and I think under one or other of these all are comprehended.

I have something a troublesome and unnecessary task herein if I were to deal with a person of ordinary ingenuity; for his Book is in Print, and I have also in Print charged this upon him, and nevertheless by this last Book he puts me again upon this double drudgery, to prove first that he said it, and afterwards to prove that he meant what he said. But, though I know this is only a piece of his Art, hoping to tire out the Auditory, not out of any belief of his own Innocence, yet a Guilty person ought not to be debarr'd from making the best

beſt of his own Caſe, and I hope the Readers will, by his tedious evaſions and tergiverſations in a thing ſo evident, be the rather provoked to do him Juſtice. Having therefore ſufficiently witneſs'd his words, I ſhall now proceed to manifeſt his Intention. And to that purpoſe I ſhall alledge one or two material paſſages; the firſt in his firſt Book, *the Eccleſiaſtical Politie.* Ecc. Pol. p. 215.

He ſaith, *'Tis better to ſubmit to the unreaſonable Impoſitions of* Nero *and* Caligula, *then to hazard the Diſſolution of the State.* What he means here by Diſſolution of the State, he might have done well to have expreſſed: but what the unreaſonable Impoſitions are, cannot be underſtood otherwiſe then either in matters of Religion or of Propriety, and how both thoſe Emperors acquitted themſelves on thoſe two accounts, appears in their Hiſtory. For as to *Nero*, beſide his perſonal vices, which can ſcarce be imitated or parallel'd but by *Caligula*, I will but ſuccinctly mention how he behav'd himſelf to the Publick in the courſe

courſe of his Government. If men bequeath'd nothing to him by their laſt Wills and Teſtaments in token of gratitude to the Prince, he confiſcated the whole eſtate, and fined all Lawyers whatſoever by whoſe advice ſuch Wills had been drawn. He decreed, that, though there were but one Informer, it ſhould ſuffice to convict men of Treaſon, either for Words or Actions. Whenſoever he beſtow'd an Office, he did it with theſe Inſtructions: *You underſtand what I have need of, and therefore let us make it our buſineſs, that no man may have any thing which he can call his own.* Beſide ſo many particular inſtances of Savage cruelty, he deſign'd to cut off the heads of all the Governors of Provinces. To poyſon the whole Senate at a Dinner. To burn the City, and at the ſame time to turn out Wild beaſts among the People to terrifie them from quenching the Fire. A blazing Star appearing, he reſolv'd to divert the *Omen* from his own head, by the Maſſacre of all the Nobility, and the moſt conſiderable perſons in *Rome*.

He

He did cauſe the City of *Rome* to be ſet on fire, and ſo careleſly, that divers of his Officers, being taken with fire and flax in their hands, and in the very act, yet were let go for fear of offending him, and ſome houſes not being ſo eaſily burnt he took care to have them beaten down with Engines. And, though it was manifeſt how it was deſigned and acted, he derived the crime of all this upon the innocent Chriſtians. He Sacrilegiouſly took the Donatives from the Temples and melted down the Images of the very Tutelar Gods of *Rome* to make money. He contemned all Religions, and particularly is reckon'd to have been the firſt Perſecutor of Chriſtianity. He affirmed publickly, that *none of his Predeceſſors had known their own Power* : the very ſame words in a manner, and ſpoke in the ſame ſenſe as thoſe of our Author, that *Governors have not been throughly inſtructed in the Nature and Extent of their Power* : and the other ; *that no Notion hath rightly underſtood and duely managed Government becauſe they have not chain'd their* Non-

Ecc. Pol. p. 58. Ecc. Pol: p. 223.

Non conformists to the Oare, and condemn'd them to the Galleys. The Conclusion of this Tragedy is common; how *Nero* was by the Senate proclaim'd an Enemy to the State, and Sentenced to be punish'd after the Ancient manner; that is to be stripp'd naked, and his head held up with a Fork, till he were whipp'd unto Death; but this by another death he prevented. This is I suppose one, Mr. *Bayes*, of your *Uncontroulable Magistrates*, these his *Unreasonable Impositions*, and this your *Dissolution of the Government*; and you think 'twas better that this *Nero* had still reign'd then that *Galba* should have succeeded. I would all of you that are of that mind had such Governors. And thus much concerning *Nero*.

But now as to *Caligula* and his *Impositions*, What disposition he was of he manifested by his *wishing that all the People of* Rome *had but one Neck*: beside that, he was used to *lament the unhappiness of his time, because it was not signaliz'd by any publick Calamity*; (as if there needed any other Calamity

mity but his Government, and he himſelf had not abundantly ſupply'd the defect of any other misfortune) *whereas*, ſaid he, *the Reign of* Auguſtus *was felicitated by the defeat of* Varus *and his Legions, as* Tiberius *his was memorable for the fall of the Amphitheatre at* Fidence (in the ruines of which Twenty thouſand men periſh'd) *but my unfortunate proſperity will leave me in danger of being inglorious after death and forgotten.* But he took good and effectual care to the contrary. He was often heard to ſay, that he *would certainly reduce things into ſuch a condition, that the Lawyers ſhould not have any thing to ſay or do, but what he thought juſt and equitable:* and he was as good as his word. The things may be ſeen in particular in his Hiſtory: his whole Reign having been a Pandect of Rapine and Tyranny, and his rule by which he proceeded, *that he might do what he pleas'd with whom he pleas'd*: As to the *Sacred Rites and their Preſidents*, take one inſtance. The Prieſt being ready to offer a Sacrifice at the Altar, he took upon himſelf, *according*

cording to the unalterable dictates of Natural Reaſon, to exerciſe the Prieſthood in perſon, and having veſted himſelf as in the Power, ſo too in the Sacerdotal habit, he took up the Mallet, and feigning to knock the Beaſt down, in ſtead thereof ſtruck down the Officer who ſtood by with the Knife. Which ſhould methinks be a ſufficient caution unto Church-men hereafter how they truſt the Civil Magiſtrate with exerciſing the tooles of the Prieſthood. But this is nothing in reſpect of what follows. He commanded that the Statue of *Jupiter Olympius* among many others ſhou'd be brought over from *Greece*, and their heads taken off to place his in the room of 'm. He ſeated himſelf often in the middle betwixt *Caſtor* and *Pollux* to be adored by the People. He built a Temple to himſelf, and appointed Prieſts to his own Divinity: and even then there wanted not ambitious men, who by favour aſpired to that Office, or purchaſed it by Simony, upon any Eccleſiaſtical vacancy. The Sacrifices appointed for his own Worſhip, were Peacocks,

Peacocks, Pheaſants, and all other the delicateſt Fowl, and of greateſt rarity. He took upon him the Enſigns of all the Gods: the Lion from *Hercules*, the Caps from the *Caſtors*, the Ivy and Thyrſis from *Liber*, the Caduceus from *Mercury*, the Sword Helmet and Buckler from *Mars*, the Crown Bow, Arrows and Graces from *Apollo*. He made love to the *Moon*, and pretended to her imbraces. But more then this he commanded that his Image ſhould be ſet up in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and that the Temple ſhould be dedicated only to him, and he there to be worſhip'd under the name of the *New Jupiter*. He cauſed his Statues moreover to be placed in the *Jews* Synagogues to be there adored. Inſomuch, that the great *Grotius* does moſt accurately deduce and expound the 2 *Theſſalonians*, 2 c. 3 and 4 verſes concerning him (though differing therein from other Interpreters) and that St. *Paul* adventur'd to call him the *Son of Perdition, that is worthy to dye in the moſt miſerable manner*, as he did afterwards, *and the Adverſary that is*

the Enemy of God : and that *his ſitting as God in the Temple of God was to be meant of his command to erect his Image there, though it were not effected, yet however ſeeing he did his beſt to have it done.* And this, Mr. *Bayes*, is your other Magiſtrate, who *underſtood it* Ex. Pol. p. 21. *ſeems the Nature and Extent of his Power*; and, as you would have Princes do, *made inflexible Laws under the* Ex. Pol. p. 271. *ſevereſt Penalties, and acted up roundly to them.* But when all people were weary of him, one *Caſsius Chæreas*, a Tribune of one of the Prætorian Cohorts, for many affronts receiv'd from him, and among others that of giving *Priapus* and *Venus* for the Word, undertook his death, and ſo happen'd the Diſſolution of his Government. Nevertheleſs I ſhall not decide here what ſubmiſſion was to be made either to *Nero*'s or his Impoſitions; but only remember what your Doctor *Heylin* ſaid concerning King *Edward* the Heylin Reſ. p. 132. ſixth. *It ſhall be left to the Readers Judgment, whether the King was either better ſtudyed in his own Concernments, or ſeem'd to be worſe principled in matters*

ters which concern'd the Church. And in another place, *King* Edwards *death I cannot reckon for an infelicity to the Church of* England, *he being ill principled in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such Counsells.* Neither will you I hope affirm that the loss of these two Emperors was any grievous Judgment upon the *Roman* Commonwealth, or a very sad affliction to the State of Christianity. This same *Caligula* was he that took so great affection to *Incitatus*, a fleet and metall'd Courser, that beside a Stable of Marble, a Manger of Ivory, Housing-cloaths of Purple, and a Poictrell of precious stones, he furnish'd him an house very nobly, and appointed him a family to entertain those who render'd visits to his *Equinity* and his *Hinnibility* (words of yours on another occasion) and to treat such Guests as were invited, with the more magnificence. Nay, so far did he carry on this humour, that 'tis said, had he not been prevented, he design'd to have made this race-horse Consul; as fit however for that Office, as his Master

Heylin Pref. Ref. p. 4.

to be Emperor. What pity 'tis, Mr. *Bayes*, that you did not live in that fortunate age, when desert was so well rewarded and understood, when preferments were so current! Certainly one of your Heels and Mettle would quickly have arrived to be somthing more then an Arch-Deacon. If an Horse had so great a Court, and so rich Furniture, and stood so fair for Election, what might not such an one as you have expected! Give me leave, Mr. *Bayes*, having been so long in your debt to requite and cap you with an *Ancient Distich*: but if I Thou you this once, it is not out of disrespect but only to repeat it the more faithfully. Had you then lived,

Thou shouldst have had a Silver Sye,
And she her self have pig'd thee by.

So that there would have been no occasion for you to have coveted, as you do, your Neighbour Prebends House, but you should have begun at last, as *Nero* said, to dwell like your self and have been installed in a Palace suitable to your Dignity. But though those happy dayes are past and gone, you

need not grumble; unleſs nothing will ſuffice you, and you are ſo ambitious of a fortune, that you cannot be content with the Spirituals of *Simon Magus* and the Temporalls of *Caligula*.

Hactenus, ſaith *Grotius* upon the ſame place; *Impium Principem deſcripſit, nunc venit ad Impium Doctorem*; So that the field lies open (were it not againſt good Huntmanſhip to courſe two Hares at once) to run your Doctoral ſimilitude here through your *Pure Ennoia*, ſhowing her ſelf at ſo many windows; your Doctrines and deceits, tending *ut homines ad flagitia impelleres aut in flagitiis detineres*; your attempting to fly with the aſſiſtance of two other Spirits. But I will let all theſe things reſt till another occaſion ſhall offer, nor am I at preſent in humour to be too ſevere upon you. Only pray let me ſhow you, Mr. *Bayes*, with how much reaſon you have recommended to the publick the Civil Magiſtrate *Caligula*, ſeeing you do ſo particularly reſemble him. Who that ſhall but caſt his

eye upon you in your writings, can take any other representation of you, then that you have not only usurped the winged Bonnet from *Mercury*, the Thyrses and Ivy from *Bacchus*, the Bow and Arrows and the Graces from *Apollo*, the Lion from *Hercules*, the Sword, Buckler, and Head-piece from *Mars*; but that you have even stoln the *Cerberus* from *Pluto*; and the Snakes and Torches from the *Furies*? And though I will not strain it so high as that *you exalt your self above all that is called God in the Temple*, yet it is notorious that you pretend to more *Worship* then belongs you in the Cathedrall. Nor does it look otherwise when men see you crowd your self in between the Dean and the Senior Prebend, then like *Caligula*'s taking the middle between *Castor* and *Pollux*. 'Tis the same Imperial Spirit that makes you justle so for place: that out of your seeking for Preeminence, you have almost made a Schism in the Church of *Canterbury*: and it concerns Christian Princes to take care how you rise higher, lest the ancient Ecclesiastical Con-

Controverſies be revived, to the *diſturbance of the publick Tranquillity, and the Ends of Government.* Then as *Caligula* had his Images in the Synagogues, ſo have you your Curates at *Ickham* and *Chartham*, for they *having no Power*, you know, *are no better then Statues and Images of Authority.* But Mr. *Lee* of *Ickham* in particular is ſo like you, that if both your heads were cut off and *Tranſpros'd* on each others ſhoulders, no man living but would take you one for the other. But to omit theſe, I ſhall, as in the caſe of *Don Sebaſtian*, ſhow by ſome more private marks of your body and mind, that though you might have impoſed upon the *Parthians* for a *Pſeudo-Nero*, it is impoſſible you ſhould be a *Perkin-Caligula*, but the very Original. Firſt, he had a ſingular quality for which he admired himſelf, and gave it a peculiar name of *Adiatrepſia*, which was his unmoved conſtancy in aſſiſting at, and looking upon the moſt horrid executions: and no leſs is your unrelenting and undaunted reſolution in firſt condemning

Ec. Pol. p. 110.

the Non-conformists to *the Galleys*, *the Pillories*, *the Whipping-Posts*, *the Publick Rods and Axes*, and afterwards beholding the Execution with an extraordinary sedateness and judicial temper of Spirit. He had beside this a peculiar Antipathy which was the reason that it was made an hainous and capital offence in his reign to name but a Goat upon whatsoever occasion. And the same aversion have you, if not to a greater height; insomuch that, I having but mention'd a Goat in my former Book, and under the disguised names too of *Crabe* and *Cabre*, you do as good as accuse me of animating therefore the Subjects to Rebellion. He was moreover, as I told you, ingaged in a great intrigue of Courtship with the *Moon*, like that of your Camarade *Bayes*: *Where shall I thy true Love know, Thou pretty pretty* Moon? *To morrow soon, ere it be noon, On Mount* Vesuvio. And you in like manner boast your self to be Married to a Goddess: but which of them 'tis I know not, for *Selene* was adored under the figure of *Minerva*: but 'tis most

Rigr. p. 210.

Reh. Com. P. 51.

moſt probably *Luna*, for you courted her in the language of *Bayes* his Eclipſe, but ſomething more finerry, as I could rehearſe to you from a good hand, were it not too broad for any mans mouth but yours, and that I would not have you blame me again for *betraying publickly the mirth and freedom of private converſation.* The laſt token of your *Caligulism* ſhall be the Sacrifices which he appointed of Pheaſants and Peacocks to his Deity: & accordingly your Friend the *Author of the Friendly Debate* hath ſacrificed a *Pheaſant*, and I have ſacrificed a *Peacock* to your Divinity; and I hope it will be therefore henceforth and for ever to me propitious and favourable. Now that I have thus far repreſented in the perſons of *Caligula* and *Nero* what it was that you meant in your former argument, and what thoſe Impoſitions are which you inſtruct Princes to practiſe and their people to ſubmit to, I ſhall diſmiſs this Teſtimony, after I have mentioned one Impoſition more of *Caligula's*, and indeed very laudable, which if you alſo will

Rep. p. 244.

ſubmit

ſubmit to, I would recommend to your graver conſideration. He condemned thoſe Authors, whoſe Writings gave no ſatisfaction to the publick, either to blur them over with a Spunge, or lick them out with their tongues; unleſs they rather choſe to be diſciplin'd with Ferulaes, in Commutation of Penance, or to be duck'd over head and ears in the next River: a Puniſhment, which were it but for your incorrigible faculty of railing and ſcolding, you could ſcarce under ſo gentle a Government have avoided.

But to paſs over, Mr. *Bayes*, from your *Roman Empire*, and come nearer home, the ſecond Teſtimony that I ſhall produce out of your own Book of the ſame Nature, ſhall be what you reply upon me concerning the Vicar of *Brackley* in *Northampton-ſhire*, your Countryman Doctor *Sibthorpe*, and who commenced Doctor much after the ſame manner that you did: His Sermon is extant in the Hiſtory, and ſome *Head*s and *Point*s of it I gave you in my firſt book as a *Pinne-paper* of your modern Orthodoxy, and the very

very *Flower* of your *Brann* (not of the Church of *England*, as you would ſuggeſt) in the Doctrine of ſome men in the late times concerning Impoſitions, and I ſhall here ſift it after your grinding. Here in the *Reproof* you undertake to tell the ſtory of that Doctors Sermon, which needed not for the Sermon is yet extant beſide what is legible in Arch-biſhop *Abbots* Narrative: but you alſo adventure to juſtifie it and *Manwarings* caſe alſo, which you allow to be the ſame with *Sibthorpes*. But whereas you limit the matter to the indiſcretion only of a ſingle Country Vicar or ſo, I gave you thoſe particular relations for an example of what was then the Doctrine *a la mode* at that time in moſt of your pulpits, and which you here attempt to bring again in faſhion. You defend that Loan and the carrying of it on in that manner, and if there were any illegal deſign of abſolute Government promoted, you aſcribe it to *the Impudence of the Members of Parliament*, to the *Aſſaults they then made upon the Royal Power by their bold and*

From p. 366. *to* p. 376.

Repr. p. 371.

ur

unreasonable demands; to their *bringing things to that pass, that nothing must be done unless the King would either grant away all his power to them, or keep it all to himself*; to the *rudeness and insolence of their demands, so that the King must sometimes govern without them or not at all.* And as to those persons and Members that were imprison'd for refusing the Loan; you say *they had forgot the respect they ought to their Prince, and the duty they ought to God*; that the *King was forced on those courses by the stubbornness of Presbyterian Parliaments*; (No, Sir, it was by the Flattery of Archidiaconal Preachers) that as things then stood betwixt him and his Parliaments *Punctilios of Law were superseded*; *Their demands were disloyal and unreasonable*: all *good and ingenuous Subjects ought not to have stood then so curiously upon Precedents and Niceties of old Custom.* And in conclusion you determine *ex Tripode* that *whatever tha Parliament or the Refusers of the Loan were by the Laws of the Land, they were even then most no orious Rebels by all the Laws of the Gospel.*

Repr. 376.

Gospel. It is worth taking notice more particularly that the Parliament which you have thus qualifyed was the Parliament 3° *Caroli*, which I have heard by unprejudiced men to have been an Assembly of the most Loyal, Prudent, and Upright *English* Spirits that any age could have produced. Their actions are upon Record, and by them not by your petishing and false glosses and relations, will posterity judge concerning them. And if we had no other effects and Laws from them but *the Petition of Right*, it were sufficient to eternize their memory among all men that wear an *English* heart in their bosome. But it is too much for you to make their Process however, and to arraign a Parliament as Traytors by an Ecclesiastical Bill of Attaindor. *You dare*, you say, *determine them so.* 'Tis indeed like your fellow *Bayes* his *Draw can-Sir* ——

You huff, you strut, look big and Stare;
And all this you can do because you dare.

But

Ec. Pol. p. 20. But I assure you, notwithstanding your complaint *of Ecclesiastical Laws, being in a manner cancell'd by the oppositions of Civil Constitutions*, twill never be well in *England* as long as that Doctrine holds that men though Loyal by the Laws of the Land, yet are most notorious Rebells by all the Laws of the Gospel. Here is Divinity indeed, not on Gods name I am sure, nor the Kings; whose then, you may consider. *You say indeed if Doctor* Sibthorpe *intermedled with the Kings Absolute Power of imposing Taxes without Consent in Parliament,* Repr. p. 370. *he went beyond his own Commission.* But why might he not, Sir, as well as you? Where is your Commission, unless what he might not Preach, you have License to Print, and that alters the case? 'Tis it seems no matter for *Manwaring*, you say, Repr. p. 374. *for his Zeal in the Cause of Loyalty was punish'd with Preferments to defie the Pragmaticalness of that Parliament*, and so was *Sibthorpe*, and so you doubtless expect to be if you be not already sufficiently punish'd with Preferments

ments for the ſame merit. You will do well to Regiſter your name in ſome Office of Addreſs, or rather with the Clerks of both Houſes; that if any new occaſion of Preferment ſhould ſtart, they may not eſcape you, nor you according to your deſerts be forgotten. In concluſion, theſe kind of Sermons were not the leaſt inducement of that Petition wherein I told you *Martin Parkers* Ballads were complain'd of; the very next Article but one being againſt *ſuch as Preach'd that Subjects have no Propriety in their Eſtates, but that the King may take from them what he pleaſeth, and that all is the Kings and he is bound by no Law.* In this Petition, though I find ſundry things intermix'd which had better been omitted, yet it is no wonder, if having this juſt cauſe of complaint, their pen being in their hand they daſh'd out further then was fitting againſt the Clergy. And now I hope I have pretty well evidenced that your Book hath ſaid what it did ſay, and that you meant what you ſaid, and it was but the ſelf ſame deſign which

both

both of you managed together. And yet, Mr. *Bayes*, you think this is hard dealing, when you betwixt ranting and whining affirm this your Grand Thesis of the Unlimited and Absolute Magistrate, *to be so granted and undoubted a truth that it is plainly ratified by the unanimous consent of all mankind. Nay* (inhumane!) *when a man has demonstrated its certainty from that unavoidable influence that Religion always has upon the Peace of Kingdomes.* But when besides you have drawn up a brief and plain account of the parts, the coherence; and the design; *when you have provided with equal care and caution* too *against the inconveniences of both extreams; Unlimited Power on the one hand, and unbounded License on the other: when the bounds you have proposed are so easie to be observed, and so unnecessary to be transgressed by all parties concerned. That Governors only take care not to impose things certainly and apparently evil, and that Subjects be not allowed to plead Conscience for disobedience in any other case: and when you have so carefully avoided all kind of severity*

Repr. p. 9.

ib.

Repr. p. 17.

Repr. p. 18.

verity more then is abſolutely neceſſary. Alas good Sir have you ſo, and nevertheleſs do they miſuſe you? Where is your Witneſs? But pray what are indeed theſe bounds that you have ſet? Let us conſider; though when you had made the Magiſtrate once Unlimited, I know not whether he gave you leave again to ſet Bounds to him. But indeed they are as you ſay very eaſie. Only that he take care not to impoſe things certainly and apparently evil. But what things are ſo, you take not ſo much care to inform him. Oh! I have it: *He may command any thing in the worſhip of God that does not tend to debauch mens Practices, or their Conceptions of the Deity.* But I was of opinion that the Magiſtrate would think fit not only to refrain from impoſing things certainly and apparently evil, but that he would even have ſhun'd the Appearance of evil: I am ſure, if he won't, his Subjects for their part ought both as men, and more as Chriſtians, to follow that Maxime. But therefore in ſuch weighty caſes who ſhall be the Expoſi- *Eſſ. Pol. p. 65.*

tor, who the Judge betwixt People and Magistrate, one would have thought the Scripture should for good reason have decided a Case of Conscience. No it may as to matter of Obedience to the Magistrate; but as to the Magistrates Ecclesiastical Power of commanding, it has rather supposed it and Christ himself, being as you make him but Natures Successor, thought not fit to meddle with it. Why then we must have something else, *a Guardian of humane Nature*, (you know whence the word comes) to decide the business. In conclusion (though it be unusual, yet some precedents there are in the *Roman* Empire) you declare your self the Magistrate and Judge of all Controversies, without expecting the suffrages of the Prince or People. We are like to be well-govern'd then, Mr. *Bayes*, are we not think you all well taught and edifyed. Pray tell me first whether you be a Lawful Prince. But that is not so much matter neither: for some Usurpers because of the tenderness of their Title, have thought fit to carry

with the greateſt Clemency and equality to the people, and to make very good and wholſome Laws for the Publick. What yours are, I muſt intreat the Readers to ſee at leaſt in the Contents of the ſeventh and eighth Chapters of your *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*: where you tell them ſtrange Stories, and argue at a wild rate, and, knowing they were ſuch Dunces as that they would not comprehend your reaſoning, you fall out upon your poor diſtreſſed Subjects, and Rogue and Raſcal them in the moſt ſignificant terms of Rebells, Traytors, Villains, Schiſmaticks, and the moſt notorious Hereticks, and, which you avow from the beginning of the Book to have been your deſign, you muſter up all Chriſtian Princes to *Neronize* and *Caligulize* them, unleſs they themſelves the Princes will chuſe for their omiſſion to be *Uſlenſpiegled* and *Sardanapalized* by you. But the Bounds which you boaſt your ſelf to have ſo wiſely and equally determined betwixt the Magiſtrate and the People are ſo inconſiderable and low, that any man

may without weights leap plum over them. If any Subject do take that which is commanded to be apparently evil he needs but, as I quoted you in my former Book, consider that *if there be any Sin in the Command, he that imposes it shall answer for it, not the man whose duty it is to obey; for the Commands of Authority* (*mark but here the* gradation of his capering Divinity) will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hallow or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from Sin, if not from Errour. And in another place which I have since taken more notice of. *Publick Peace and Tranquillity is a thing in it self so good and necessary, that there are very few actions that it will not render virtuous, whatever they are in themselves, wherever they happen to be useful and instrumental to its attainment.* Was there ever any man that writ of things of so high consequence, as to concern mens Reason, Honesty, and Salvation, at so prosligate and loose a rate! I will not be tedious, but those whole Chapters are such Stuff. You should have told

Eccl. Pol. p. 317.

us

us which actions were excuſed, and which were hallow'd, that we might have known how to ſhew them reſpect according to their ſeveral qualities. You ſhould have cauſed the Magiſtrate to enter into good and ſufficient ſecurity, and be bound in a round ſum to ſave the Subject harmleſs. And the Penalty of the Bonds ſhould have differ'd, what in caſe he run the Subject only into Errour, and what in caſe of Sin, And the day too ſhould have been expreſſed, although it had been but the Day of Judgment. And in the other place; if there be ſo few Actions that the Publick Peace will not render virtuous whatever they are in themſelves, it had been kindly done of you, Mr. *Bayes*, to enumerate them, and to have gratifyed our curioſity with ſhewing us the whole proceſs and manner of the Tranſmutation. And no leſs arbitrary and conjectural is that expreſſion concerning the Magiſtrates Power: *The ſame Providence that intruſted Princes with the Government of humane affairs, muſt of neceſſity have veſted them with* Ex. To. p. 4.

at least as much Power as was absolutely Necessary to the Nature and ends of Government. You should have done well to have given us the Date when Providence intrusted the several Princes, and by what means it was brought about. You should have prescribed just how much power was intrusted, for if it were a *Depositum*, it is fit that there should be great exactness in order to account for it. But suppose Providence should have intrusted them with a little more Power then were absolutely necessary, whether or no would it have been absolutely destructive? A small errour in the quantity leads on to great absurdities. Neither will the same Proportion agree with all Politick Bodies. The *Turk*, the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, the King of *France*, the King of *Poland*, and so on, are not all intrusted with the same Power: but some of 'm have more and some perhaps less then is absolutely necessary. 'Tis pity that you were not at the Admensuration, and that you like *Apollo* did not order the Balance of Government, or fill

the

the Cartridges and distribute them to each Magistrate according to his *Calibre*. Then whereas you say that Providence must of necessity have intrusted the Magistrate with at least as much Power as was absolutely necessary, you ought to have consider'd whether, according to your usual Exactness, Necessity upon Necessity *be not false Heraldry*: and when you add to the Nature and Ends of Government you should have expresst what those were; for Authors are very much divided about it: you say, Publick Peace and Tranquillity. Why but some, for the attainment of that, hold it to be Necessary that Subjects should have no Arms, others that they should have no Wealth, no Propriety, and a third that they should have no Understanding, no Learning, nor Letters. You have indeed expresst your self in another place of the same Book that *there is no Creature so ungovernable as a wealthy Fanatick*: Now you that say, *Princes must have at least as much Power as is necessary to the ends of Government*, should also have

weigh'd how much Wealth at leaſt, and how much Religion at leaſt was Neceſſary to make a man a *Wealthy Fanatick*, that Princes might have calculated better how to govern them. Whether a Dram of Wealth mix'd with a Pound of Conſcience, or whether a Scruple of Conſcience infuſed in a thouſand Pounds a year do compound a Wealthy Fanatick. For otherwiſe there may be a great errour in the Doſe of Government: and you may, even during your dull and lazy diſtemper, have had experience how Neceſſary it is to be exact in the preparation and quantity, though it were but of *Callimelanos*. The word Fanatick is of a large acceptation. The Papiſts are Fanaticks; The Presbyterians, the Independents, the Anabaptiſts of *New England*, and I know not how many more are Fanaticks. The Parliament 3° *Caroli*, that drew up the Petition of Right, and others that you mention, excluding that of Forty, were Presbyterian, Fanatical, Puritanical, and Rebellious Parliaments. Who knows at this rate where

where Fanaticiſm will end, and whether, according to your notion, every man who has an eſtate or who aſſerts propriety, may not in a ſhort time be deemed a Fanatick; nay, whether you your ſelf, that were formerly a Fanatick in point of Religion, may not now you are grown ſo wealthy, upon that account at leaſt, turn Presbyterian? Moreover in your *Cenſure too of Platonick Philoſophy*, when you firſt made courtſhip to *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, but the Intrigue was not ſo avowed and publick, you have ſaid: *Governours muſt keep their Subjects from ſinking into too much Ignorance or riſing to too much Knowledge in matters of*— (I wonder what this—ſhould mean: it is not ſure *of thoſe deſigns that aſpire to ſerve your deareſt*—) *for the former renders them ſalvage, which is apparently deſtructive to Government; the latter makes them proud, conceited, and zealous, that breeds contempt of Governours, and fits them upon headleſs plots and deſigns of Reformation, that uſually proceed to Rebellion*, &c. I ſee now that it is to be ſupplyed *or riſing to too much know-*

knowledge in matters of — Religion. You that do, as if it were in Rogation week, perambulate the Bounds of Government, and leave them *so easie to be understood, and so unnecessary to be transgressed*, why would you here have conceal'd them, or was it that in this manner you drew a Line betwixt the Prince and the Subject to serve ever after for their Boundary? Will you believe me? seeing you had blam'd me for saying that *you have extended the Princes Power to Impotency as a streight Line continued grows a Circle*; when I saw this streight Line of yours, I took my Compasses and *divaricating* them for experiment, I drew the Circular Line all along thorow it, that you could not see what was become of it, and without the least offence to the Figure upon either account. But here again, Mr. *Bayes*, or to use a *Chaucer*'s word for change, Mr. *Limitour*, you are much out and too indefinite. You should if you would have said any thing to the purpose, have read a Lecture here to Princes upon the Centers of Knowledge and Ignorance,

rance, and how and when they Gravitate, and Levitate. But as you failed in the matter of Wealth and Fanaticiſme, and you did not inſtruct them how to know when their Subjects were fat or lean enough, when they were honeſt or diſhoneſt enough; ſo you have here diſappointed Governours extremely, who would have been glad to have behaved themſelves well, and to have ruled with good reputation, that they are at an abſolute loſs to know how to diet their Subjects and to diſtinguiſh when their people are fools enough, and when wiſe enough, or how much ignorance would ſuffice a Reaſonable man. But however upon this Survey, if that rule hold good that an Indefinite is equipollent to an Univerſal, I collect from theſe two paſſages of yours laſt quoted, that you are pretty well ſatisfyed that Providence having of neceſſity intruſted Princes with at leaſt as much Power as is abſolutely neceſſary to the Nature and Ends of Government, they ought for Peace and Tranquilities ſake (for 'tis *Muſt* too in this out of your

Platonick

Platonick Philoſophy) to keep their Subjects from Arms, from Letters, and from Propriety. For as you ſaid formerly *there are few actions* (whether of the Governour or of the People) *which that Nobler end of Publick Tranquillity will not render virtuous, whatſoever the actions be in their own nature.* How others will judge of it I know not, or how far Princes will think that Expedient which you affirm neceſſary: but certainly if this courſe were once effectually taken, the whole year would conſiſt of Halcyon Holydayes, and the whole world free from Storms and Tempeſts would be lull'd and dandled into a Brumall Quiet.

Neither are you more diſtinct in the matter of Neceſſity, wherein, it being the Original from which you firſt derive all this Abſolute and Unlimited Government, it behoved you if ever to have *ſhown you Heraldry.* For though Neceſſity be a very honourable Name of good extraction and alliance, yet there are ſeveral Families of the Neceſſities, as in yours of *Bayes*, and though ſome of 'm are Patrician, yet

yet others are Plebeian. There is first of all a neceſſity, that ſome have talk'd of, and which I mention'd you in my former Book, that was pre-eternal to all things, and exerciſed dominion not only over all humane things, but over *Jupiter* himſelf and the reſt of the Deities and drove the great Iron nail thorough the Axle-tree of Nature. I have ſome ſuſpicion that you would have men underſtand it of your ſelf, and that you are that Neceſſity. For what can you be leſs or other who have given an Abſolute and Unlimited Power to Princes, who have made Nature preexiſtent to our Saviour, and preeminent, and have therefore forced him to ſubſcribe to its dictates, and confirm its grants though to his own derogation and prejudice, who have obliged Providence to diſpenſe Power to the Magiſtrate according to your good pleaſure, and herein have claim'd to your ſelf that Univerſal Dictatorſhip of Neceſſity over God and Man, though it were but *Clavi figendi cauſa*, and to ſtrike thorow all Government, Humane and Divine

with

with the great Hammer? There is another which may be named the Neceſſity of the Neck, or *Caligula's* Neceſſity before ſpoke of; that is that the whole body of the People ſhould have but one Neck. Do you mean this? for it is very uſeful and virtuous toward the attainment of *Publick Tranquillity and the ends of Government*. A third is the Neceſſity of the Calf, which in this Caſe would be very conſiderable to the Magiſtrate. For the Calves of the Legs being placed behind where they are altogether unuſeful, it were neceſſary in ſome mens opinion, to place the Calf rather before for defenſe, leſt men ſhould break their Shins by making more haſt then good ſpeed. You may then reckon Neceſſity of State, to which in former times 'twas uſual to oppoſe Impoſſibility: and of kin to theſe is Neceſſity that has no Law, and that Neceſſity where the King loſes his Right, that is when nothing is to be had. And laſtly, there is one ſort of men for whoſe ſake there is a common Maxime eſtabliſh'd, that there is an

Abſo-

Abſolute Neceſſity they ſhould have good Memories. I have thus far gratified your indifiniteneſs by this enumeration that you may henceforward pick and chuſe a Neceſſity as you ſhall ſee occaſion. And in the mean time, that I may furniſh you with a Chriſten-name as well as a Sir-name, and ſet you up for an Author, you may pleaſe henceforward to write your ſelf Mr. *Neceſſity Bayes*. But though the Neceſſity you ſpeak of does more or leſs partake of all or moſt of thoſe I have mention'd, it ſeems to me rather reducible to that of the Calf. That is to ſay, You do hereby ſeem to imagine, that Providence ſhould have contrived all things according to the utmoſt perfection, or that which you conceive would have been moſt to your purpoſe. Whereas in the ſhape of Mans body, and in the frame of the world, there are many things indeed lyable to Objection, and which might have been better if we ſhould give ear to proud and curious Spirits. But we muſt nevertheleſs be content with ſuch bodies,

and

and to inhabit such an Earth as it has pleased God to allot us. And so also in the Government of the World, it were desirable that men migh live in perpetual Peace, in a state of good Nature, without Law or Magistrate, because by the universal equity and rectitude of manners they would be superfluous. And had God intended it so, it would so have succeeded, and he would have sway'd and temper'd the Mind and Affections of Mankind so that their Innocence should have expressed that of the Angels, and the Tranquility of his Dominion here below should have resembled that in Heaven. But alas! that state of perfection was dissolv'd in the first Instance, and was shorter liv'd than Anarchy, scarce of one days continuance. And ever since the first Brother Sacrificed the other to Revenge, because his Offering was better accepted, Slaughter and War has made up half the business in the World, and oftentimes upon the same quarrel, and with like success. So that as God has hitherto, in stead

of

of an Eternal Spring, a ſtanding Serenity, and peerpetual Sun-ſhine, ſubjected Mankind to the diſmal Influence of Comets from above, to Thunder, and Lightning, and Tempeſts from the middle Region, and from the lower Surface. to the raging of the Seas, and the tottering of Earth quakes, beſide all other the innumerable calamities to which humane life is expoſed he has in like manner diſtinguiſh'd the Government of the World by the intermitting ſeaſons of Diſcord, War, and publick Diſturbance, Neither has he ſo order'd it only (as men endeavour to expreſs it) by meer permiſſion, but ſometimes out of Complacency. For though it may happen that both the Parties may be guilty of War, as both of Schiſme, yet there are many caſes in which War is juſt, and few however where there is not more Juſtice on one ſide then the other. To repell an Invaſion from abroad, or extinguiſh an Uſurpation at home would not require a long conſultation with Conſcience. The *Jews* themſelves learnt at laſt

that 'twas lawful to fight a battel on the Sabbath day, rather then ſubmit their throats to the Enemy: And had all Sectaries been of the opinion of ſome Anabaptiſts and others, that all War is unlawful, they would have afforded matter rather of deriſion then diſturbance. Nevertheleſs it is moſt certain, that Tranquillity in Government is by all juſt means to be ſought after, and it might eaſily be attain'd and preſerved, did thoſe that moſt pretend to it ſincerely labour it. But Men have oftentimes, as I have partly ſhow'd you in your own Doctrine, other Ends of Government, and that to compaſs them require other Means then will conſiſt with ſo ſpecious a Title. How ſhould ſuch perſons arrive at their deſign'd port, but by diſturbance? for if there were a dead calm always, and the Wind blew from no corner, there would be no Navigation. You will object perhaps, and I ſtand corrected, that though there ſhould not be a breath of air, it might be performed by Galleys: and 'tis indeed the very thing propoſed in your

your *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, that you might be row'd in ſtate over the Ocean of Publick Tranquillity by the publick Slavery. But becauſe you are ſubject to miſconſtrue even true *Engliſh*, I will explain my ſelf as diſtinctly as I can, and as cloſe as poſſible what is mine own opinion in this matter of the Magiſtrate and Government; that ſeeing I have blamed you where I thought you blame-worthy, you may have as fair hold of me too, if you can find where to fix your Accuſation.

The Power of the Magiſtrate does moſt certainly iſſue from the Divine Authority. The Obedience due to that Power is by Divine Command; and Subjects are bound both as Men and as Chriſtians to obey the Magiſtrate Actively in all things where their Duty to God intercedes not, and however Paſſively, that is either by leaving their Countrey, or if they cannot do that (the Magiſtrate or the reaſon of their own occaſions hindring them) then by ſuffering patiently at home, without giving the leaſt pub-

lick disturbance. But the Dispute concerning the Magistrates Power ought to be superfluous: for that it is certainly founded upon his Commission from God, and for the most part sufficiently fortified with all humane advantages. There are few Soveraign Princes so abridged, but that, if they be not contented, they may envy their own Fortune. But the modester Question (if men will needs be medling with matters above them) would be how far it is advisable for a Prince to exert and push the rigour of that Power which no man can deny him; For Princes, as they derive the Right of Succession from their Ancestors, so they inherit from that ancient and illustrious extraction, a Generosity that runs in the Blood above the allay of the rest of mankind. And being moreover at so much ease of Honour and Fortune, that they are free from the Gripes of Avarice and Twinges of Ambition, they are the more disposed to an universal Benignity toward their Subjects. What Prince that sees so many millions of men

men, either labouring industriously toward his Revenue, or adventuring their Lives in his Service, and all of them performing his Commands with a religious obedience, but conceives at the same time a relenting tenderness over them, whereof others out of the narrowness of their Minds cannot be capable? But if this gracious Temper be inconsistent with *the Nature and Ends of Government*, it behoves them to be aware, and by the rougher methods to provide for their own and the Peoples security. For though Princes are not, as in some barbarous parts of the world, sworn as 'twere upon the Almanack, and violate their Coronation Oath, unless the seasons of the Year be very punctual, yet (abating only for any extraordinary accident from Heaven) they are responsible to him that gave them their Commission for the happiness or infelicity of their Subjects during the term of their Government. It is within their Power, depends upon their Counsels, and they cannot fail of a prosperous Reign, but by a mistaken choice betwixt Rigour

or Moderation. But whoever ſhall caſt his eye thorow the Hiſtory of all Ages, will find that nothing has alwayes ſucceeded better with Princes then the Clemency of Government: and that thoſe, on the contrary, who have taken the ſanguinary courſe, have been unfortunate to themſelves and the people, the conſequences not being ſeparable. For whether that Royal and Magnanimous gentleneſs ſpring from a propenſity of their Nature, or be acquired and confirmed by good and prudent conſideration, it draws along with it all the effects of Policy. The wealth of a Shepheard depends upon the multitude of his flock, the goodneſs of their Paſture, and the Quietneſs of their feeding: and Princes, whoſe dominion over mankind reſembles in ſome meaſure that of man over other creatures, cannot expect any conſiderable increaſe to themſelves, if by continual terrour they amaze, ſhatter, and hare their People, driving them into Woods, & running them upon Precipices. Nay even if this ſimilitude were purſued

to

to the uttermoſt, and *the Abſolute and Unlimited Power* over rational beings were ſo deſirable as ſome, for their own ſiniſter ends, will alwayes be ſuggeſting to Governors, there is not any ſo proper and certain way of attaining it, as by this ſoftneſs of handling. If men do but compute how charming an efficacy one Word, and more one good Action has from a Superior upon thoſe under him, it can ſcarce be reckon'd how Powerful a Magick there is in a Prince who ſhall by a conſtant tenour of humanity in Government go on daily gaining upon the affections of his People. There is not any Priviledge ſo dear, but it may be extorted from Subjects by good uſage, and by keeping them alwayes up in their good humour. I will not ſay what one Prince may compaſs within his own time, or what a ſecond, though ſurely much may be done: but it is enough if a great and durable deſign be accompliſh'd in the third Life, and, ſuppoſing an hereditary ſucceſſion of any three taking up ſtill where the other left, and dealing ſtill in that fair and tender

way of management, it is impoſſible but that even without reach or intention upon the Princes part, all ſhould fall into his hand, and in ſo ſhort a time the very memory or thoughts of any ſuch thing as Publick liberty would, as it were by conſent, expire and be for ever extinguiſh'd. So that, whatever the Power of the Magiſtrate be in the Inſtitution, it is much ſafer for them not to do that with the Left hand which they may do with the Right, nor by an Extraordinary what they may effect by the Ordinary way of Government. A Prince that goes to the Top of his Power is like him that ſhall go to the Bottom of his Treaſure. And therefore it is very unadviſable however to put a great ſtreſs upon little things, and where the Obedience will not countervail the Experiment. It is like a man that knits all his force to throw an inconſiderable weight: he both ſtrains his arm with it, falls ſhort and makes no impreſſion; whereas he that chuſes a juſt weight, does neither find himſelf the weaker after he has deliver'd it, and reaches the

the length he aim'd at. And this I doubt has been the caſe in laying on ſo much load upon account of things at beſt only indifferent and ceremonious. But as it is the Wiſdom and Virtue of a Prince to rule in this manner, ſo he hath that advantage that his ſafety herein is fortified by his Duty, and as being a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, he has the ſtronger obligation upon him to govern his Subjects in this Chriſtian manner. Even during the Law under the Moſaical diſpenſation, in that regall Chapter of the *17th.* of *Deuteronomy*, it is ſolemnly commanded that when the King ſits upon the Throne of his Kingdome, he ſhall write him a Copy of the Law in a Book out of that which is before the Prieſts the Levites, and it ſhall be with him, and he ſhall read therein all the dayes of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of the Law, and theſe Statutes to do them: that his heart be not lifted up over his brethren, and that he turn not aſide from the commandment to the right hand or to the left, to the end

he

he may prolong his dayes in the Kingdom, he and his children. And though our Saviour came to abrogate the Ceremonial part of the Law, yet this was so essential to the Magistrates duty, that he confirmed and establish'd it stronger by his Doctrine. He declares indeed, that those Christians are Blessed who are persecuted for Righteousness sake, and when men shall revile, persecute and say all manner of evil against them: but it does not therefore follow that the Magistrate by fulfilling that Prediction does gain any of the Beatitudes. Rather he is invited to the contrary course, for as much as the Merciful are blessed, for they shall obtain mercy, and blessed are the Meek for they shall inherit the earth. And so, in the 13 to the *Romans*, where the duty of the Subject is so fully and excellently described, 'tis nevertheless as to the Magistrate said that he is not, which is to say, he ought not to be a terrour to good works, but to the evil. Neither is it fair for any man to speak as though our Saviour had in a manner balked

the

the whole buſineſs of the Magiſtrates duty intermixed with his juriſdiction. For whatſoever *Chriſt* did generally dictate, unleſs where he ſpeaks to men under the expreſs capacity and notion of Subjects, is equally bound upon the Magiſtrate as well as the People. And where he denounces, Woe to them that ſhall offend one of his little ones that believe in him, and whoſo doth it, that it were better for him that a Milſtone were hang'd about his neck, and that he were drown'd in the Sea, is ſaid without reſervation either to Prince or Subject. Neither where the Apoſtle *Paul* ſpeaks of the tribulation which God recompences to the troublers of Chriſtianity, is there any exempt Juriſdiction to be pleaded. The Power of Princes is not improperly reſembled and derived down by Paternal Authority, and that which a Maſter hath in his Family: and in the *6th.* to the *Epheſians* were the rules are given of domeſtick obedience, yet both Parents are forbid too from provoking their children to wrath, and Maſters that they do not threaten

threaten their Servants. Indeed although *Christ* did not assume an earthly and visible Kingdome, yet he by the Gospel gave Law to Princes and Subjects, obliging all mankind to such a peaceable and gentle frame of Spirit as would be the greatest and most lasting security to Government, rendring the People tractable to Superiors, and the Magistrate not grievous in the exercise of his Dominion: And he knew very well that without dethroning the Princes of the World at present, yet by the constant preaching of that benevolous and amiable Doctrine, by the assimilating and charitable Love of the first Christians, and by their signal patience under all their sufferings and torments, all opposition would be worn out, and all Princes should make place for a Christian Empire. Neither therefore did he or the Apostles, or the Primitive Christians that trode on in their steps, notwithstanding their obedience to the Magistrate, intermit the declaring and propagating the whole Christian Doctrine in the doing

doing of which, i I can expreſs it ſo with decency, they did an act of the moſt direct and higheſt contumacy and diſobedience to thoſe that then Governed. And ſo it did and always will happen, that whereas Chriſtianity is indeed moſt certainly the greateſt Friend to Government, and takes the greateſt care, makes the beſt proviſion of any Doctrine whatſoever for the preſerving of its authority; yet where the Magiſtrate does claſh with the rules and ends of Chriſtianity, he do s of conſequence ſubvert his own power, and undermine his own Foundation; not by any malignity that there is in the Religion, but by a diſtinct efficacy that it has in maintaining it ſelf thorow all oppoſition. But when once Chriſtianity had in this regular and direct way obtained the Soveraignty, Eccleſiaſtical perſons in whoſe keeping the Counterparts of Chriſtian Doctrine, and example are moſt properly depoſited, began exceedingly to degenerate. For the former ſincerity and devotion of the Teachers, joyned with their abſtinence from riches

ſtiches or ſecular honours and imploy-
ments, had, as it will do always, ren-
der'd them in the opinion of others
worthy of that which they moſt con-
temn'd and avoided, and by how much
they fled they were the more fol-
low'd by a devout Liberality: And
good reaſon it was that as the people
did partake of their Spirituals, ſo
ſhould they too of the Peoples Tem-
porals: neither could any plenty then
ſeem envious, when the Donors ſaw
them to be ſo good Stewards of what
they gave them, converting little to
their own profit, but diſpenſing the
moſt part to pious and charitable uſes.
But in thoſe dayes *Venenum*, as 'twas
ſaid, *infuſum eſt Eccleſiæ*, and Religion
having brought forth Riches, the
Daughter devoured the Mother. Not
that I think any reward can be too
great for one that is faithful in the
diſcharge of ſo ſacred an Office, but
thoſe that can go upright under the
load of wealth, make up the leſſer
number of mankind, and for the moſt
part they that ſeek it more earneſtly
do the worſt deſerve it. Too many
of

of that order did then begin to ſleight their own Function, although of all others the moſt eligible and worthy: conſiſting in the ſweetneſs of a contemplative life, the ineſtimable care of mens Souls, a freedom from the common occaſions of vice, and from the Mechanical drudgery of raking together a fortune. That which was an Office before, was now turn'd into a Benefice, and one would not ſuffice the Appetite, but they introduced the Polygamy of Pluralities. Non-reſidence was ſo legal, that it was almoſt grown to a Science, and a man might have compil'd a Syſteme of its ſeveral terms of Art and Diſtinctions. They follow'd the Courts of Princes, and intangled themſelves in ſecular affairs, beyond what is lawful or convenient to the Sanctity of their Vocation: and from that unnatural Copulation of Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal together, have thoſe Monſters of Practice and Opinion been begotten, with which the World has been ever ſince infeſted; They incumbred Chriſtianity (that is the moſt ſhort and plain Religion)

gion) with an innumerable rabble of Rites and Ceremonies; neglecting the sincere and solid for a *Mosaical* rubbish, that tends nothing to Edification, and which our Saviour had swept out of his Temple. They affected preeminence, and ruled their flock by constraint, Lording it over Gods inheritance. They rent the Universal Church in pieces, sometimes about the observation of a Festival, otherwhiles about their scuffles for precedence. By degrees they bearded Princes themselves, and chalenged so exempt a Jurisdiction, that it was resolved even the Concubines of Priests were not within the cognizance of the Civil Magistrate. In conclusion, they let the reins loose to their own Covetousness, Ambition, Pride, Ignorance, Formality, and Contentions: and could never take up again. Insomuch that well-nigh ever since it has been more then half the business of Princes to regulate the brabbles and quarrels that have been unnecessarily sow'd by some of the Clergy; and they have brought the World to that pass that

indeed

indeed it cannot longer ſubſiſt then Kings ſhall have and exerciſe an Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy as far as it can be ſtretched. And when the beſt Function was by theſe means the worſt corrupted, ſo far have they been from returning to the good and ancient wayes of Chriſtianity, that all their indevours have bent to the eſtabliſhing of their iniquity by Laws, and propagating it by the moſt indirect methods of humane Policy. They have ſtrove conſtantly to make all Reformation, not only ridiculous but impoſſible; and to draw Princes into their Confederacy. Unto which end although they had accumulated the wealth of moſt Kingdoms into their own Coffers, and graſped at all Juriſdiction, as oft as there was any fear of a Reformation, they have been very liberal again of Power and Treaſure to diſpoſe and inable the Magiſtrate to War and Violence. There have never been wanting among them ſuch as would ſet the Magiſtrate upon the Pinnacle of the Temple, and ſhowing him all the Power, Wealth, and

Glory of the Kingdoms of the Earth, have proffer'd the Prince all ſo he he would be tempted to fall down and worſhip them. So that the Eccleſiaſtical Wiſdom has reſembled that after the Deluge, which having once waſh'd the World clean from that filth of Luxury and Impiety that it had in ſo long a time been contracting men thought it wonderful Politick, inſtead of truſting to Gods promiſe, and following Righteouſneſs the only ſecurity againſt Gods judgments, to erect an impregnable *Babel* of Power, that ſhould reach to Heaven. But all ſuch vain attempts are ſtill by the Divine Providence turn'd into confuſion. In the mean time Nations, it is true, have by this means been run up into Schiſmes, Hereſies, and Rebellions, which are indeed crimes of the higheſt nature, and of the moſt pernicious conſequence; but do not in the leaſt diminiſh, yea rather aggravate the guilt of thoſe men who have alwayes deſign'd to ſecure their own miſdemeanors by publick oppreſſion. For all Governments and Societies of men, and

and ſo the Eccleſiaſtical, do in proceſs of long time gather an irregularity, and wear away much of their primitive inſtitution. And therefore the true wiſdom of all Ages hath been to review at fit periods thoſe errours, defects or exceſſes, that have inſenſibly crept on into the Publick Adminiſtration; to bruſh the duſt of the Wheels, and oyl them again, or if it be found adviſable to chuſe a ſet of new ones. And this Reformation is moſt eaſily and with leaſt diſturbance to be effected by the Society it ſelf, no ſingle men being forbidden by any Magiſtrate to amend their own manners, and much more all Societies having the liberty to bring themſelves within compaſs. But if men themſelves ſhall omit their duty in this matter, the only juſt and lawful way remains by the Magiſtrate, who, having the greateſt truſt and intereſt in preſerving the publick welfare, had need take care to redreſs in good ſeaſon whatſoever corruptions that may indanger and infect the Government. Otherwiſe, if the Society it ſelf ſhall

be so far from correcting its own exorbitances, as to defend them even to the offence and invasion of the Universality; and if Princes shall not take the advantage of their errours to reduce them to reason; this work, being on both sides neglected, falls to the Peoples share, from which God defend every good Government. For though all Commotions be unlawful, yet by this means they prove unavoidable. In all things that are insensible there is nevertheless a natural force always operating to expel and reject whatsoever is contrary to their subsistence. And the sensible but brutish creatures heard together as if it were in counsel against their common inconveniences, and imbolden'd by their multitude, rebel even again Man their Lord and Master. And the Common People in all places partake so much of Sense and Nature, that, could they be imagined and contrived to be irrational, yet they would ferment and tumultuate at last for their own preservation. Yet neither do they want the use of Reason, and perhaps their aggregated

gregated Judgment discerns most truly the errours of Government, forasmuch as they are the first to be sure that smart under them. In this only they come to be short-sighted, that though they know the Diseases, they understand not the Remedies, and though good Patients, they are ill Physicians. The Magistrate only is authorized, qualified, and capable to make a just and effectual Reformation, and especially among the Ecclesiasticks. For in all experience, as far as I can remember, they have never been forward to save the Prince that labour. If they had, there would have been no *Wickliffe*, no *Husse*, no *Luther* in History. Or at least, upon so notable an emergency as the last, the Church of *Rome* would then in the Council of *Trent* have thought of rectifying it self in good earnest, that it might have recover'd its ancient character: whereas it left the same divisions much wider, and the Christian People of the world to suffer, Protestants under Popish Governors, Popish under Protestants, rather then let go

any point of intereſſed Ambition. The inſtances made by the Emperour, and by the King of *France*, with their Propoſals for Reformation, the indevours of ſundry great and religious Prelates, and among the reſt the Arch-biſhop of *Granada*, whom I named on a former occaſion, all came to nothing: and I wiſh our later times did not furniſh us with parallels of the ſame nature. What I have ſaid thus far concerning the Eccleſiaſticks, I have ſaid with great regret; and it would be yet greater did not the imputation upon ſuch particular perſons as are cu'pable on theſe accounts ſet of the multitude of thoſe that are commendable for the contrary with a fuller luſtre. But as to our Church, as I wiſh that none therein could come within this reflexion, yet truly there are not ſo many notorious defects in its Government, that any can ſuſpect me to have directed this diſcourſe to to thoſe Reverend perſons that are the Guides of it; and who, if they would but add a little more moderation to their great prudence, might quickly

mend

mend what is to be mended, to the great quiet of themſelves, and edification of the People. In this one matter only of the Ceremonial Controverſie in our Church, I muſt confeſs my want of capacity, which I have reaſon in all other things to acknowledge; and though indeed our Eccleſiaſtical Governours have the Law herein upon their ſide, it befitted them however to have ſeen that the diſpute ſhould have been managed even on their part with more humanity: which having been otherwiſe, his drawn me as it might any man elſe beyond mine own diffidence to ſay what I thought expedient. Even the Church of *Rome*, which cannot be thought the moſt negligent of things that concern her intereſt, does not, that I know of, lay any great ſtreſs upon Rituals and Ceremonials, ſo men agree in Doctrine: nor do I remember that they have perſecuted any upon that account, but left the ſeveral Churches in the Priviledge of their own faſhion. Inſomuch that in the very Ritual of the Maſs, the

moſt religious part of their Worſhip, the *Moſarabe* Ceremonies are allow'd where formerly practiſed, in which Horſes and Fencings are introduced after the manner of the *Moores*, which *Antonius* of *Valtellina* affirmed to have a great Myſterie and Signification in them, but that thereby that Maſs ſo differ'd from the *Roman* that no *Italian* would think it were a Maſs, ſhould he ſee it celebrated. I have as much as poſſible diſingaged my mind from all Bias and Partiality, to think how or what prudence men of ſo great Piety and Learning as the Guides of our Church could find out all along, it being now near an Hundred and fifty years, to preſs on and continue ſtill impoſitions in theſe matters. On the Non-conformiſts part it is plain that they have perſiſted in this diſpute, becauſe they have, or think they have the direct authority of Scripture on their ſide, and to keep themſelves as remote as might be from the return of that Religion, from which they had reformed: whereas on the other ſide, in the former times

Rigour

Rigour was heighten'd with Rigour, and Innovation multiplyed by Innovation, that no man can conjecture where it would have ended. But whatever design the Ecclesiastical Instruments managed, it is yet to me the greatest mysterie in the world how the Civil Magistrate could be perswaded to interess himself with all the severity of his power in a matter so unnecessary, so trivial, and so pernicious to the publick quiet. For had things been left in their own state of Indifferency, it is well known that the *English* Nation is generally neither so void of Understanding, Civility, Obedience, or Devotion, but that they would long ago have voluntary cloted and fain naturally into those reverent manners of Worship which would sufficiently have exprest and suited with their Religion. And when things were carried on to an extraordinary height by the Rulers of the Church, they suffered long, and even to extremity; which is as much as could by any Magistrate be expected, unless that too were made a Crime,

Crime, and they muſt ſuffer for ſuffering. It is true at laſt men proceeded beyond the bounds of Chriſtian Moderation and Patience; and there fell out thoſe diſmal effects, which, if they cannot be forgotten, ought to be alwayes deplored, alwayes avoided. To conclude this matter thus far, there is no Command in Scripture that injoyns the Chriſtian Magiſtrate to lay any ſuch Impoſitions: and that Promiſe, *that Kings ſhall be nurſing-fathers to the Church*, is ſo far from warranting any ſuch thing, that it rather implyes the contrary; neither that they ſhould ſo pamper the Clergy and humour their weakneſſes, as to forget that in our Church the National multitude is more properly included, and that as Nurſing Fathers they ought to be careful leſt they overlay any of their Children. Thoſe therefore that aſcribe an Abſolute and Unlimited Power to the Magiſtrate, will not I hope deny them, peremptorily, to proceed within the Bounds of their own Diſcretion. And if our Saviour has reſerved ſome caſes

to

to his own Jurisdiction, as I shall treat hereafter, no Prince I hope will think it a diminution, but that rather he is thereby discharged, and eased of that part of Government wherein there would have been the most trouble, and can be the least advantage.

And that can be only in Case of *Conscience*, which is the second thing that in your pleasant and droling manner you have chose to insist upon. I have in some measure shown you, Mr. *Necessity Bayes*, how many absurdities you have incurred in managing the Absolute and Unlimited Ecclesiastical Power of the Magistrate as well as Civil. That you may the more exalt that, you continue as in your former Books to revile and debase Conscience, so that you may put it out of Countenance, and out of all good conceit with it self. *Most mens minds or Consciences*, you have said, *are weak, silly and ignorant things, acted by fond and absurd Principles.* You say, men talk of it as of *some distinct Puppet within them, or as if it were a Pope in their Bellies*; whereas *Conscience*, you

Ec. Pol. P. 7.

Repr. p. 10.

Repr. p. 86.

you say, is *an indeterminate thing, and has no more certein a signification then the clinking of a Bell, that is as every man fancies.* I understand Sir, what you mean; *As the fool thinks, so the Conscience tinks.* Commend me to you, Mr. *Bayes*, for a good Conscience-maker. Who that were in his wits would trouble himself with a thing so inconsiderable? And yet the mischief is, that this is that by which every man must be excused or accused. But the good again of that mischief is, that this will have no effect till the Day of Judgment. In the mean time I take it I assure you to be as serious a thing, as you would make it ridiculous; and what I fancy by it, is Humane Reason guided by the Scripture in order to Salvation. What you determine it to be, is to be seen more particularly in the third Chapter of your *Ecclesiastical Politie*, and summarily in the Contents: and you reproach me for representing it as if you there *confined the whole duty of Conscience to the inward thoughts of the Mind and its perswasions*; and this (to avoid

Ec. Pol. p. 87.

avoid tediouſneſs, and that I may not return your immodeſt anſwer) I ſhall refer to the Reader. If as there you ſay: *the Inward Actions of the Mind, and Matters of meer Conſcience* be made terms Convertible, if *Mankind have a Liberty of Conſcience as far as concerns their Judgments, but not their Practiſes*; if *the Nature of Chriſtian Liberty relate to our Thoughts, and not to our Actions*; if *Chriſtian Liberty conſiſt in the Reſtauration of the Mind of Man to its natural Liberty from the Yoke of the Ceremonial Law*; I durſt almoſt truſt your ſelf, though I have no great inducement to confide in you, with the arbitration betwixt us. For if the Inward Actions of the Mind only be the Matters of meer Conſcience, do you not confine the whole duty of Conſcience to the inward thought and perſwaſions of the Mind? Or if a Man would help you over the Stile, and allow ſomthing to be Conſcience that is not meer Conſcience, do not you evacuate it again in ſaying, that men have a Liberty of Conſcience as far as concerns their Judgments, but not their Practiſes?

Cases? So that here is a second Commitment, and you have confined Conscience back again to the Inward Thoughts only and perswasions of the Mind. Nay even, if Christian Liberty consist in the Restauration of the Mind of Man to its Natural Liberty from the *Mosaical* Law, does not that too according to your Doctrine here dispense only with our Judgments, but our Practice is still, or may be bound up to the Observance of all the *Mosaical* Institutions. So that if you please you may keep the Lye to your self of which you are so liberal, or let it remain in the middle till it be decided whom it of right belongs to, and let him take it and make his best on't. But in this of the *Jewish* Law you are indeed very distinct, and as dogmatical as a man would wish. For you say, that *if the Proconsul of* Judæa *should publish an Edict that all Christians shall submit to Circumcision out of regard to the eternal Obligation to the Law of* Moses, *that were a manifest violence to the freedom of the Gospel: but whatever else he may command, so he pretend not to any war-*

p. 413. Defense.

rant

rant of Divine Authority; *whatever abuse it may be of his own power, it is no abuse of Christian Liberty.* So that you do not determine that it would be so much as an abuse of his own power, but you do determine, that, if he do command not only Circumcision, but whatsoever else, (how strangely comprehensive are those words!) it is no abuse of Christian Liberty. But you are so far in love with this Notion, that you say the *Mosaical dispensation being Cancell'd by the Gospel, those indifferent things that had been made necessary by a Divine positive command return'd to their own nature, to be used or omitted only as occasion should direct.* So that here you plainly assert what you left disputable in the former passage, that the Magistrate may if he please lawfully introduce and set up the *Jewish* Religion again among Christians. 'Tis a sad case in the mean time, and truly if our Saviours Cancelling the *Mosaical* Law do but render the same indifferent, I am afraid that his Confirming of the Magistrates Ecclesiastical Power, that you told us

Ecc. Pol. p. 96.

of,

of, is not much better, and had no great validity. But I do not now wonder that you said it was in the Power of the Magistrate to establish what Religion he took to be most advantageous: for I see you are an honest man of your word, and meant it in good earnest. He may command whatsoever he pleases. He may set up the whole Jewish Religion as occasion shall direct. Whether on Gods name will these Ceremonies of ours lead us at last, what shall we come to? I see there is nothing Divine or Humane so unalterable or so Sacred, no Liberty that belongs to Men or to Christians that you are not ready to violate and prostitute to your own end; and you will turn any thing Jew or Heathen, and preach up others to it rather then lose a Speculation, or be foyl'd in an argument. Whereas no man hath devested himself of any Natural Liberty as he is a Man, by professing himself a Christian, but one liberty operates within the other more effectually, & strengthen themselves better by that double Title.

Espe-

Eſpecially if your rule hold, in this caſe; *that our Saviour hath Confirmed what he hath not Reverſed.* For as to this particular of the *Moſaical* Law, *Chriſt* has abrogated it for ever in perpetuity; and it muſt ſure be a very pretty Doctrine this of yours, that ſo the Antecedent Neceſſity be taken away, the Magiſtrate may erect it again by a Subſequent. So in concluſion our Saviour has done juſt nothing, neither indeed could he by your argument: and the Chriſtian Subject being only at Liberty in his judgment, is notwithſtanding obliged in Obedience to conform to the whole Jewiſh Ceremonial, as oft as the Magiſtrate may think it expedient. But I ſay you ought to know and acknowledge that our Saviour has eſtabliſh'd Chriſtianity to indure till his ſecond coming; and hath in the Inſtitution of that Religion condeſcended, though he might have exacted both, to be himſelf treated without Ceremony, ſo that were ſupplyed by Reality. For Chriſtianity has obliged men to very hard duty, and ranſacks their

very thoughts, not being contented with an unblameableneſs as to the Law, nor with an external Righteouſneſs: it aims all at that which is ſincere and ſolid and having laid that weight upon the Conſcience, which will be found ſufficient for any honeſt man to walk under, it hath not preſſed and loaded men farther with the burthen of Ritual and Ceremonial traditions and Impoſitions. For whether indeed they be ſo heavy as they appear to the Scrupulous, yet they are not ſo light to be ſure as you would perſwade men: and moſt Creatures know when they have their juſt load, nor can you make them go if you add more. In concluſion it is moſt certain that as our Saviour has exacted thoſe duties which are neceſſary with more declarative ſtrictneſs from Chriſtians, then was under any other Religion, and thereby bound the Conſcience to a ſeverer ſcrutiny within it ſelf over all our performances; ſo hath he gratified them on the other part with larger exemptions and Priviledges from things Indiffe-

rent

rent and Unneceſſary. And it is a groſs abuſe whoſoever ſtrives to limit Chriſtian Liberty only from the *Jewiſh* Ceremonial Law, which you too will hardly grant us. But whatſoever general Rules, Laws and Precepts are given in Scripture, and more particularly in the New Teſtament, to direct the Magiſtrate in the moderation of his Power in things of this nature, do make up the great Charter of Chriſtian Liberty, and they may juſtly plead it. 'Tis true that the deciſion and puniſhment of thoſe that ſhall tranſgreſs therein if they be Supreme Magiſtrates is reſerved to Gods Tribunal, and the Appeal thither, which you almoſt laugh at, is the moſt proper: but the Law by which thoſe that offend their weak Brother, will then be proceeded upon, is very legible, both haeing been dictated by our Saviour himſelf and by his Apoſtles. Yet though the Supreme Magiſtrate cannot be queſtioned, I am not at all doubtful but that he may puniſh any ſuch tranſgreſſion in his Subalternals and Subſtitutes: and if it would pleaſe

God to inſpire the hearts of Princes to curb that ſanguinary and unchriſtian Spirit of thoſe that for their own corrupt ends make Government ſo uneaſie to Princes; ſo that we might once come to the experiment how happy a Prince and people might be under a plain and true Chriſtian adminiſtration, I believe all men, and eſpecially Princes would be ſo ſatisfy'd, and in love with it, that they would make it Treaſon to give them any contrary counſel.

But the occaſion of all this medly and Hoch-poch that you make in matters of meer Conſcience, and of Mixt Conſcience, in the Liberty of Chriſtians as to their Judgment, but not to their Practice, of the Magiſtrates Power to impoſe things by a ſubſequent, ſo he do it not by an Antecedent Neceſſity; is from your Ignorance of Divine and Humane things which makes you jumble them ſo together that you cannot diſtinguiſh of their ſeveral Obligations. Or elſe it is your voluntary and affected perverting of your own knowledge, in the

the ſame manner as in *Turky* they turn themſelves ſo long giddy, till they can neither think nor ſee what s before them, and fall down in an extaſie fit for Inſpiration. Or it is that you may thus contribute to your own Maxime, and, ſeeing *Governors muſt keep their People from ſinking into too much Ignorance, or riſing to too much knowledge in matters of,* —— to do your part in muffling them up to play before you at the Blind-man-buff of Conſcience. For whereas you quote out of the firſt of *Peter* 2. 13. and 15. *Submit to every Ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, for ſo is the will of God, that with well doing you may put to ſilence the Ignorance of fooliſh men,* it appears as if you had on purpoſe omitted what comes between in the latter end of the 13*th*. and the whole 14*th* verſe: *Whether it be to the King, as Supreme, or unto Governors as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well*: and you neglect in the 16*th* verſe, *As free, and not uſing your liberty as a cloak of maliciouſneſs,* the

Defence. P. 413.

conclusion; *but as the Servants of God*: and *as Free* you Print in the common character that men may not unless they look in the Bible, discern that it is part of the Text. These are pretty little contrivances. But if this be consider'd in the whole, it seems to me that by *every Ordinance of man* is not meant every Law of man, but the Governors themselves, whether Supreme or Substitute. And that submission not to be intended singly concerning an Active Obedience: For few men will offer to say that if Ordinances should be interpreted by Laws, men ought so to obey *every* Law; for their duty is described *as free*, and *as the Servants of God*; so that whensoever those come to be contradistinguished, not Man but God is to be obey'd. And therefore this Apostle, and so all the rest did actively disobey by Preaching the Gospel and in particular Saint *Paul* perceiv'd another kind of *Necessity* then yours; *Necessity was laid upon him to preach the Gospel*. And you may find in the 9th to the *Hebrews* that those *Ordinances* which

which you contend ſtill to be lawful, as abſolutely voided. For *the firſt Covenant alſo had Ordinances of Divine ſervice, and a worldly Sanctuary.* And v. 10. *it ſtood only in meats and drinks and divers waſhings and Carnal Ordinances impoſed on them until the time of Reformation.* And you cannot unleſs you ſhut your eyes but diſcern Col. 2. 14. that our *Saviour has blotted out the hand-writing of Ordinances, and taken it out of the way nailing it to his Croſs.* Neither in the 13*th* to the *Romans*, does it appear to me otherwiſe then that therefore men ought not to contemn, contradict, reſiſt the Magiſtrate, who indeed is the *Ordinance of God* according to that Text and others; but in the ſame place it is evident, that, as to active obedience to Governours in particular caſes, the matter muſt be decided betwixt God and every mans Conſcience. And I muſt ſtill deſire you to remember that by Conſcience I underſtand Humane reaſon acting by the Rule of Scripture, in order to obedience to God and a Mans own Salvation. But you not

Ecc. Pol. p. 80. content to have ſaid that the *Magiſtrate hath Power to make that a particular of the Divine Law which God hath not made ſo*, do avowedly and plainly make all Humane Laws that do not Countenance Vice, or Diſgrace the Deity to be particulars of the Divine Law, and that to break any other Law then ſuch, is a ſin, And that *all Laws Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical equally oblige the Conſcience*, and upon pain of Damnation. So that hereby whatſoever is enacted on Earth is at the ſame time enacted in Heaven. Every Law carries along with it the pain of Excommunication. Whatſoever the Magiſtrate binds on Earth is bound in Heaven: and he delivers every man who tranſgreſſes in Cartwheels, and the number of Horſes in his Team, or that buries not in Flannel over to Satan. There is no Chriſtian Magiſtrate, but, if he thought the matter went ſo high, he would be very tender how he made Laws and rather then multiply them to the Damnation of his good Subjects, he would bear with many a Publick in-

con-

convenience. But this desperate Maxime (though what I am going to say is unavoidable, yet I do it with reverence) does impose upon Gods Conscience, that he must make that a Sin which was not so before the Magistrate commanded the Duty; it makes God to be the Magistrates Minister; and, whereas the Law-giver contents himself with the Penalty that the Law exacts in case of failure, nevertheless at the same time he obliges God to execute damnation upon the Offender. I am almost confident that the Divine Justice would never have been thus far at the Magistrates beck, but that you have told God, that *he must of necessity grant him at least thus much Power*; and therefore I must confess there is no help for it. Will you never be ashamed of this damning and damned Doctrine? It were better that all Uniformity had never been invented, then that it should be upheld by such Theology. But I will not fall into a further transport, seeing some allowance is to be given you, by reason of your ancient acquaintance, and your present friendship

ſhip with the Non-conformiſts; which obliges you to do them all good offices, and therefore, like that *Italian*, you would not do them an half-Courteſie, but contrive to kill their Bodies and damn their Souls with one labour. Are there not many Cuſtoms that have gained the Force of Laws? Are there not many Perſons that are ignorant of ſeveral Laws that are made? Are there not many Laws that by diſuſe are grown obſolete and ſtand yet Un-repealed? What would you in this caſe adviſe God to do with poor Sinners? Will nothing ſerve but Hell-fire, or will you agree that there may be ſome gentler Limbo prepared for them, where they may ſweat out their guiltineſs? It is impoſſible in ſuch groſs abſurdities, but that a man ſhould ſpeak to the quick, though never ſo deſirous to treat of ſacred things with due reverence. But moreover whatſoever Obligations may be put upon Mankind, they are to be expounded by that great and fundamental Law of Mercy. And therefore it was that our Saviour, even in the caſe

of

of a Divine Positive Law, declared accordingly and interpreted the meaning of, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, as a general dispensation in all things that come within that respect and consideration. But to proceed further, I say, with submission still to better judgements, and especially to Superiors, that I conceive the Magistrate, as in Scripture described, is the Ordinance of God constituting him, and the Ordinance of Man assenting to his Dominion. For there is not now any expreis Revelation, no Inspiration of a Prophet, nor Unction of that Nature as to the declaringof that particular person that is to Govern. Only God hath in general commanded and disposed men to be Governed. And the particular person reigns according to that right, more or less, respectively, which under Gods providence he or his Predecessors have lawfully acquired over the Subject. Therefore I take the Magistrates Power to be from God, only in a Providential constitution; and the nature of which is very well and reverently

rently expreſſed by Princes themſelves, *By the Grace of God King of*, &c. but I do not underſtand that God has thereby imparted and devolved to the Magiſtrate his Divine Juriſdiction. God that ſees into the thoughts of mens hearts, and to whom both Prince and Subjects are accountable, ſees not as man ſees, nor judges as he judges; but is his own Meaſure and the firſt Rectitude. But for the Magiſtrate it is ſurely ſufficient that God has fortify'd him with a Divine Law that he may not be reſiſted: but his Adminiſtration is humane, neither is it poſſible either for him to exact or men to pay him more then a Civil obedience in thoſe Laws which he conſtituteth. Otherwiſe it were in his Power not only, as ſome and *Caligula* for example, to decree that he is God, but even to be ſo. God ſurely, although it does for the moſt part or ought to fall out that the ſame action is a ſin againſt God, and a diſobedience to the humane Law, puniſhes the Fact ſo far as he ſees and knows in himſelf that it is ſinful and contrary to the Eternal rule

of

of Juſtice: but an humane Law can create only an humane obligation; and unleſs the breach chance likewiſe to be againſt ſome expreſs Divine Law, I cannot ſee but that the offendor is guilty not to God, but onely to the Magiſtrate, and hath expiated his Offence by undergoing the Penalty.

I ſhould be very ſory to diſſeminate in a matter ſo weighty, any Errour, nay even an unſeaſonable or dangerous Truth; none being more deſirous or more ſenſible of the Neceſſity of Publick Obedience. And therefore as I have conſulted none to make them conſcious or culpable of what miſtake I may run into, ſo if any ſhall convince me of one herein, I ſhall ingenuouſly retract it. But if this appear to be ſufficient in reaſon for the preſerving of Government, 'tis probable that it will prove to be ſo likewiſe in fact, and that there is no further proviſion made for the Magiſtrate. I do ſuppoſe therefore that the true ſtreſs and force of Laws lyes in their aptitude and convenience for the general good of the People; and no Magiſtrate is ſo wan-

ton

tion as to make Laws meerly out of the pleasure of Legislation, but out of the prospect of some utility to the Publick. Few Subjects are so capable as to imagine any further Obligation: neither does that opinion lean towards Atheism, but proceeds rather from an honorable apprehension concerning God; that he could not institute Government to the prejudice of mankind, or exact obedience to Laws that are destructive to the Society. Therefore, as long as the Magistrate shall provide Laws that appear useful in the experiment, the whole people will stand by him to exact obedience from the refractary, and pursue them like a Common Enemy. But if it fall out otherwise, that the Laws are inconvenient in the practice, men are so sensible of that, and so dull in Divinity, that, should the Legislator persist never so much, he would danger to be left in the field very single; and should you, Mr. *Necessity Bayes*, inculcate your heart out, the Auditory would scarce be converted. Indeed how is it possible to imagine, and to what

what purpoſe, that ever any Magiſtrate ſhould make Laws but for a general advantage? and who again but would be glad to abrogate them when he finds them pernicious to his Government? And therefore it is very uſual to make at firſt Probationary Laws, and for ſome term of years only; that both the Law-giver and the Subject may ſee at leiſure how proper they are and ſuitable to the effect for which they were intended. And indeed all Laws however are but Probationers of time; and, though meant for perpetuity, yet, when unprofitable, do as they were made by common conſent, ſo expire by univerſal negrect, and without Repeal grow Obſolete. There is again beſide the Convenience of a Law, another ſecurity in the Penalty. For becauſe few Laws are ſo perfect or convenient, but that ſome man will out of a vicious temper or intereſt tranſgreſs them; the Penalties too of Pecuniary Mulcts, or of Life, or Limme, or Liberty and whatſoever elſe are neceſſary, and doubtleſs the Magi-

ſtrate

ſtrate does therein hold the ballance of Juſtice, and weigh the puniſhment as near as may be, that it ſhould be proportionable to the offence. And out of that care it is, that Governors make the ſame. ſault ſometimes capital, otherwhiles Pecuniary, other, Impriſonment, *&c.* but that, whatſoever it is, being once undergone, all men reckon that the Magiſtrate and Juſtice are ſatisfied. For indeed how can Humane Laws bind beyond the declared intention of the Magiſtrate in them. They who obey them find therein their Convenience and Reward they who break them the Puniſhment: and upon thoſe two wheels all Government hath turned. But to make all Obedience matter of Salvation, is a Note that I believe no Tyrant ever thought of: and it would be ſome trouble to calculate, when a Law is alter'd here upon Earth, and the ſame offence ſhall one year be Capital, and the next year perhaps thought fit to be Finable; how far the Judicature of Heaven takes the ſame meaſures, as it is a ſin, in the Damnation: Or ſuppoſe

pose the Crime be pardon'd here, why should not the Malefactor plead it too in Heaven? or how came it that *the Parliament* 3° Caroli, *whatsoever they were by the Laws of the Land, were notorious Rebels by all the Laws of the Gospel?* You say they are no Laws unless they oblige the Conscience. It is no great matter however: For if they be not Laws they are at least Halters; and the Obligation of that without Conscience will be sufficiently effectual. It was, you know, an Order in one Government that he that proposed a new Law should appear with an halter about his neck in the Assembly; it being thought reasonable that he should know his own neck would be concerned as well as others in the inconvenience. But for such an Ecclesiastical Law-giver as you, I know not what *Memento* were competent; who bring in a Law that whosoever shall disobey any Statute, nay any By-Law, though he deserves not to be hang'd, nor to be fined ten pounds, yet shall in a trice and the very same moment be damned. You should before you thus confounded all

Rep. p. 399.

humane and divine things together, have at least reflected upon affairs neater your understanding, To what purpose then have all those former Contests been managed, whether Episcopacy were *Jure Divino* or *Jure Humano?* Whether Residence in a mans Living were by Divine or by Canon Law? in which last Controversie the Arch-bishop, whom I minced you of at your Siege of *Granada*, determined it to be of Divine Obligation. But the Pope said that to declare that the Non resident should incur the Deprivation of the Benefice, would be a readier way and much more effectual. And that is indeed too experienced a Truth that humane Penalties do more powerfully affect mens obedience then Divine Obligations. But therefore as it is unlawful to palliate with God and enervate his Laws into an humane only and Politick consideration; so is it on the other side unlawful and unnecessary, to give to Common and Civil constitutions a Divine Sanction, and it is so far from an owning of Gods Jurisdiction, that it is an Invasion upon it. Now that I

may

may more manifeſtly and further evidence, that, how horrid ſoever this opinion be which I object to you, yet I have not in the leaſt aggravated your ſenſe or words; it may be neceſſary; knowing what manner of man I have to deal with, to preſs you and inſtance a little cloſer in that one particular of the *Jejunium Cecilianum*, or the *Wedneſday* Faſt, in the 5° *Elizabethæ*, to which purpoſe it is material that the original Clauſe be cited. 'Tis thus, *And becauſe no manner of perſon ſhall miſjudge of the intent of this Statute containing orders to eat fiſh, and forbear eating of fleſh, but that the ſame is properly intended and meant Politickly, for the increaſe of Fiſh rmen and Mariners, and repairing of Port-Towns and Navigation, and not for ſuperſtition to be maintained in in choice of Meats; Be it enacted, that whoſoever ſhall by teaching, writing, or open ſpeech notifie that any eating of Fiſh or forbidding of Fleſh, mentioned in this Act, is of any Neceſſity for the ſaving of the Soul of man, or that it is the Service of God, otherwiſe then as other Politick Laws are and be, then that ſuch perſons ſhall be*

punish'd as spreaders of false News. This Act to last for ten years, &c. Now upon consideration of what you maintain and quote out of a late Learned Prelate, whom you leave nameless, that you might have the honour of it; *Then the Law is no Law at all, and if it be not tyed upon the Conscience, it is no Sin to break it and to keep it is no duty*: and adding hereunto what you say in the *Reproof*, upon this occasion: *I will challenge you and all your party of mankind to maintain that whatever enacts a Law with this Proviso, that it shall not bind in Conscience, enacts no Law; whether therefore the Clause were added by* Cecil *or by the Parliament, I am not concerned and though you should throw in the Queen, and Convocation, and all, I care not, I will declare that they were all miserably out in their Divinity*: I say, considering this, I am very jealous that neither your late Learned Prelate, nor you ever read the Clause, but took it up at adventure. For there is not a word of Conscience in the whole Clause, and if you would mount what is said to mean Conscience, the Clause does not however exclude it, for it

Rastall. 5. Eliz. c. 5. P. 378.

Fr. Pol. P. 59.

Repr. P. 33. & 34.

runs

runs you ſee thus : *or that it is the Service of God otherwiſe then as all other Politick Laws are and be.* Indeed at this rate you may ſay and make what you pleaſe. But it is plain that this Clauſe which is a part of the Act, and you call impertinent, was inſerted with moſt exemplary and Chriſtian prudence, to avoid not only apparent manifeſt evil, but the very appearance of evil, and to ſhow the perſwaſion of thoſe times, though it prove ſo contrary to yours, that the Ordinances of Meats and Drinks were ſo aboliſh'd by our Saviour, that this Act could not concern men in their Salvation : and therefore too they made it but a Probationer, that the Subject alſo might have have time to try the convenience or inconvenience. Therefore, Sir, I would adviſe you to go to your Statute book, and ſee whether the Act be continued or repealed; leaſt at any time you have incurr'd not only the Penalty of Falſe news, *by teaching, writing and open Speech*, but leaſt you have unwittingly run your ſelf into Damnation, according to your

own doctrine, by disobeying the Act. But as to your *throwing in the Queen and Convocation too, and that they were all wretchedly out in Divinity*; you might have consider'd whether Archbishop *Parker* were not there among them, who methinks how light soever all the rest were might have weigh'd something in your balance. This however is according to your wonted bravery, Mr. *Bayes*, and, as your Camarade said of the Criticks, so Queen, Parliament, Convocation, when they are not of your mind, *have*

Reh. Com. p. 8. *no more wit in them then so many Hobby horses*: and as, Mr. *Johnson* replyed thereupon, *you have said enough of them in Conscience.* You are it seems your self the man you mention in your Platonick Philosophy,

C. P. Th. p 18. *Celsa qui mentis ab arce Despicis Errantes humana* Senacula *ridens.*——

And you look down upon these *odde* passages of Humane Laws, at the same time you make them divine

Ibid. as very despicable. Since you are come to be the *Cardinal* Deacon you look, as you say the Cardinals of *Rome* express it, upon all secular affairs

as the *Underſhrievalties of that life*, with great *Soſſiego* and calmneſs. From what I have alledg'd of yours in this Claule I hope it is evident, that you do maintain not only that Statute, but all others to bind under pain of damnation. What need I trouble my ſelf in proving it out on you? 'Tis what you contend avowedly to make us believe. *God has annexed*, you ſay, *the ſame Penalties to diſobedience to Mans Laws as his own.* Henceforth I pray do not criticize ſo ſeverely upon *Calvine*, nor upbraid him with his *Horrendum Decretum* of Divine Predeſtination: for at this rate you will make every Humane Law as horrible and terrible. Take heed of hooking things up to Heaven in this manner; for, though you look for ſome advantage from it, you may chance to riſe them above your reach, and if you do not faſten and rivet them very well when you have them there, they will come down again with ſuch a ſwinge, that if you ſtand not out of the way, they may bear you down further then you thonght of. I aſſure you I am ſore

E. Pol. p. 20.

afraid and very ſory for it, that not only you but all your Clergy of *England* are in a way to be damned. For there is a Law that hath all the Force and validity that any Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Conſtitution can carry among us, and ſomething more to boot, which was perhaps the reaſon that you ſaid the Anabaptiſts were ſo much in the right: That is in the order of Publick Baptiſm in the Common Prayer Book. For the Words are theſe, *The Prieſt, if they ſhall certifie him that the Child may well indure it, ſhall dip it in the water diſcreetly and warily, but if they do certifie that the Child is weak, it ſhall ſuffice to pour water upon it.* This is in a matter of no leſs moment then the Sacrament of initiation into Chriſtianity: and you know very well what is nevertheleſs the Practice, and you have in your Doctrine informed us of the Conſequence. Therefore, in my humble opinion, it were better for you, Mr. *Bayes*, to ſpeak civilly of Princes, whenſoever like Nurſing-fathers or Nurſing Mothers they ſpeak tenderly of things relating to the Conſcience

ſcience and Salvation of their Subjects: though indeed either it ſeems they muſt themſelves learn a new Divinity, or teach you better manners. And you would do well and wiſely not to ſtretch, Gold-beat, and Wyer-draw Humane Laws thus to Heaven: leaſt they grow thereby too ſlender to hold, and loſe in ſtrength what they gain by extenſion and rarefaction. Reverend Mr. *Hooker* ought to have ſerv'd you for a better example, who though he was willing to drive this nail as far as it would go, yet having ſpent his whole eighth book in ſifting the Obligation of humane Laws concludes his whole *Eccleſiaſtical Politie* with with theſe Words *Diſobedience therefore unto* Laws *which are made by the* Magiſtrate *is not a thing of ſo ſmall account as ſome would make it. However too rigorous it were, that the breach of every humane* Law *ſhould be held a deadly ſin. A mean there is between thoſe Extremities if ſo be we can find it out.* You might have done wiſely to have imitated his Modeſty. And no leſs pernicious is all that you ſay further

in

in this matter which I named *publick Conſcience*. Foraſmuch as you ſaid, that, *in caſes of Publick Concern mens wills and judgments are to be directed and determined by the Commands and Determinations of the Publick Conſcience*. She is a Lady doubtleſs of great Quality and Virtue, I ſhould be glad to know her lodging and be better acquainted with her: though often it happens that there is little difference betwixt Publick and Proſtitute. But ſhe being very generous, *if there be any ſin in her Commands will her ſelf anſwer for it*, and diſcharge you of all danger *ſhe will warrant your Obedience, and hallow, or at leaſt excuſe your Action*. Do what you will with her, *She will ſecure you from Sin, if not from Errour*. She *will render your Actions virtuous, whatever they are in themſelves*. 'Tis the beſt Woman that ever was born. And further: *a Doubting Conſcience muſt alwayes at leaſt as much fright us from diſobeying, as from obeying any humane Law*. Ay, Private Conſcience is a meer Trollop to her, an old Beldam ſuperannuate, and a Bulbegger fit

to

to fright Children. These *at-leasts* are the very Spirit and flame of Casual Theology. Frighted at least as much on this side, and frighted at least as much on that side. What will become at this rate of the poor simple Doubter? He will be in as bad a Case as you when you were distracted betwixt your Book-seller and your *Comfortable Importance*: or like a Horse, he may stand and starve between two equal Hay-cocks; or hang in an *at-least* betwixt Heaven and Hell till the Day of Judgment. Nay, but to avoid that inconvenience, *if we would speak properly, the Commands of Authority perfectly determine and evacuate all doubtfulness and irresolution of Conscience*: So that now instead of what the Apostle said, *He that doubts is damned if he eat*, the business is sheer alter'd, and if he doubts, he is therefore damned. And all your seventh and eighth Chapters of *Ecclesiastical Politie* swarm with such affirmative and Imperative Divinity. So that you need not have astonish'd your self, when you find it ought after long consideration,

Ec. Pol. p. 287.

ſideration, *that my Book was rather a Cenſure then a Confutation*, (yet that (too others will judge of :) neither ought you to have taken it ſo ill though I had only *ſquirted*, as you call it at your *Theſis* and Corollaries, unleſs you knew that Syringing had been, *if we would ſpeak properly*, more ſuitable to your *Diſtemper*. But to conclude this Matter. Whatſoever *Villany* you ſay *there is in theſe mens Religion who diſtinguiſh betwixt Grace and Morality*, and how *Modern* ſoever that *Orthodoxy*, I am ſure theſe opinions of yours are of an higher tincture : but becauſe it is a Theology of your own begetting, 'tis reaſon to let you too have the naming of it. But 'tis likely to prove a very wicked wretch, and, ſhould it grow up as in *Probability* at this rate, under your Inſtruction and Education, its Malice would ſoon ſupply its Age, and 'twill take very deſperate courſes : and what End it will come to you may eaſily imagine. I hope nevertheleſs that this Doctrine is yet an Alien in our Church, and therefore, if for ſome no-

notorious offence it come to its twelve God-fathers, let it have however its Priviledge, and be tryed *per Medietatem Conſcientiæ*. There is one thing more in your diſcuſſion of Chriſtian Liberty concerning the *Gnoſticks*, whom you very frequently parallel the Non-conformiſts; which, would I ſeek for new matter of mirth or ſtir up freſh controverſies, does adminiſter me abundant occaſion. But I ſhall defer that till your Diagnoſticks be better. For I am afraid you take that as you do many things elſe upon truſt, and ſhould you, upon further conſultation with your Chronologers, diſcern that their Hereſie began not till after the death of the Apoſtles, you would be ſhrewdly diſappointed to find your ſelf guilty of the *Pſeudonymos Gnoſis*, in that particular. That which in my former Book I call'd your third Play, of *Morall Grace*, you here act over again; but with ſo trivial levity that indeed I perceive I did you injury in calling it ſo, for I ſee it is but an old Farſe new vamp'd. And truly here eſpecially, but thorow your whole

Reproof,

Reproof, it seems that you do not trouble your self so much about the weight of the matter, as disquiet your mind with an Emulation of Wit, of which you ought to be a good Husband, for you come by it very hardly. Whether I have any at all I know not, neither, further then it is not fit for me to reject any good quality wherewith God may have indued me, do I much care: but would be glad to part with it very easily for any thing intellectual, that is solid and useful. Neither therefore do I at all complain or trouble my self, though I see you borrow or steal it before my face, and that you *turn* ((with what felicity let others judge) *three parts of my own Book*, as you say you could, *upon me*. Much good do you with it, I will never question you for't. But therefore when you should have been treating here with due gravity concerning the most serious Subject perhaps in all Christianity, you fall a mousing about the definition of a Quibble. You need not upbraid me with that which is the best of your Science, and I foresee within

a few Pages that I ſhall diſcover you to be much better at it than I am, and that you are (if it be a Quibble it befits you) are a meer Word-pecker. You have contrary to all Architecture and good œconomy made a Snow-houſe in your upper Roome, which indeed was Philoſophically done of you, ſeeing you bear your head ſo high as if it were in or above the middle Region, and ſo you thought it ſecure from melting. But you did not at the ſame time conſider that your Brain is ſo hot, that the Wit is diſſolv'd by it, and is always dripping away at the Icicles of your Noſe. But it Freezes again I confeſs as ſoon as it falls down, and hence it proceeds that there is no paſſage in my Book, deep or ſhallow, but with a chill and key-cold conceit you can ice it in a moment, and ſlide there over it without ſcatches. But, having done that, you ſhew your ſelf mightily offended that I have upon this ſubject of Grace told you, that *if it be reſolved into Morality, I think a man may almoſt as well make God too to be only a Notional and*

and Moral Existence. I have told you that I foresaw every where at what you would be carping, so I did here, and nevertheless thought fit to express it so upon good deliberation: And could you now have held your Tongue you had heard no more of it, whereas now I am obliged frankly to satisfie you of my severall Reasons. And 'tis first upon occasion of your *Tentamina Physico-Theologica* before mentioned, which you Dedicated to my Lord Arch-bishop; it being your first Address to Ecclesiastical Fortune, and an Essay by writing against Atheisme, to gain Authority to whatsoever Doctrine you should afterwards disseminate. I should not say what follows did I think I could thereby offend my Lord Arch-bishop who having the oversight of this whole Church upon him; does, of course and conscientiously doubtless, transmit such applicatory discourses to his Chaplains. So I suppose you bespoke Doctor *Grigg* to make a favourable Report in your behalf, and give you as he did, a Cast of his Office in the

License,

Licenſe. I muſt deduce the thing to make it clear to you. As ſoon as I open'd the Book at the Title, and ſaw the Authors name, if you be the ſame perſon, I met with *Typis A. M.* but we two not being then acquainted, ſurely you could not propheſie that I ſhould be the man that ſhould Print you in ſo legible a Character in a firſt, and now this ſecond Edition. Next after that *Venales*; which I could not reconcile either in Gender or Number but concerning you and your Book, that hence forwards you were both alike Venall; you indeed, as in an Auction, to be Sold by Inch of Candle. Where? *apud Jo. Sherley.* Ay, there it was where you and your Book both lodged at one anothers expenſe. For whatever others are, you were then a meer *Shop divine*, and did ſo nibble all his Library, and dirty them with your Thumbs, that the poor man had not one new Book left, but was fain to Sell them all at ſecond hand. But where was his Shop? *Ad inſigne Pelicani.* A very Emblematical ſign where you digged *Repr. p. 21.*

and pick'd your very Heart-blood and Brains out to nouriſh your young *Tentamina*. Where was this? *in parva Britannia*. You ſhould have done well to have Printed us the Map of it; for I find it not in your *Heylin*, who miſ-led you *on the South ſide of the* Lake Leman. But, wherever you live, you will take a courſe to make it *little Britaine*. This is not all: *Et apud Sam. Thompſon*, to direct men further; and you were to be had at as many places as *Buckworths* Lozengis. *In Cæmeterio Divi Pauli*: Bury him out of the way 'tis no matter: But, *ad Inſigne Capitis Epiſcopi*, at the Sign of the Biſhops-head, there you are ſure to be heard of. And, to convince men that this was not all pure Chance, but there was ſomething of Deſign and Wit in't, turne but over the Leaf and you meet full bob; *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Domino*, Domino Gilberto *Providentia Divina, Archiepiſcopo* Cantuarienſi, *totius* Angliæ *Primati & Metropolitano*; *& Auguſtiſſimo Principi*, Carolo *Secundo*, *Magnæ* Britanniæ, Franciæ

Franciæ & Hiberniæ *Regi, a Secretioribus Consilijs.* So here you *apud* Jo. Sherley *in* Parva Britannia, and my Lord Arch-bishop, *totius* Angliæ *Primas*, and Carolus *Secundus Magnæ* Britanniæ *Rex* are brought to an Enterview, and to set up a Triumvirate together. But I was at first surprized by your Marshalling and Commaes, not being able readily to distinguish whether it were not Dedicated also to the King, and which of the two was the others Privy-Counsellor. Well to proceed; *Nullus dubito quin mineris pedibus tuis provolvi Recentem quendam Ignotæ Frontis Clientulam*, and well he might, for he knew not yet the height and bredth of your Forehead: had he, to remark it the better, it being so unknown, set a Brand upon it, it had been some courtesie to the Publick. *Et forsan obstupescis.* 'Tis an uncivil supposition, did you not since lessen it by affirming in your *Hiuingill*; *Clerus Britannicus stupor mundi: Suppose*, Mr. *Bayes, you may suppose it seems what you please; I have nothing to do with your suppose: suppose* Reh. Com. P. 7.

quoth a! — but you intend to make him amends: *hominis fiduciam.* This salves it indeed a little: For truly if any thing in the world could rebate the vigour of so acute and solid a judgment, it must have stounded him to reflect upon your Confidence then in that Address, but much more in your latter writings. But *Quis felicius litaturas sperarem studiorum Primitias quam si in Summi Pontificis dextram libandas submitterem?* Prity well. *Tum quod animæ germinantis impetum repressérint quorum potius interest tenella Conaminum germina radijs maturantibus inspirasse.* The inspiring with beams is a new Invention. But sweet germinating soul what was it did betide thee? was it changed in the Cradle? Alas for't. You were whimpring I doubt already, as you did afterwards to Doctor *Bathurst*, about *the Chains and Fetters of an unhappy* (yet civil *Education*). *Si vero jubare vestro afflentur*; do you mean Sun-burning or Blasting? *fiet forte* (suppose again though it were *quod non est supponendum*) *ut indies maturescam, dum tandem*

dum ſtudia noſtra ad meliorem frugem ſe convenerint. You found *Eccleſiaſtical Polities*, *Defenſes*, *Prefaces*, *Reproofs* even now ſtirring within you, *Ut plerumque ſolent Adoleſcentium partus minus vigoris & maturitatis adipiſci.* Do you mean it literally? you do to be ſure where you ſpeak in the next Line of enjoying *felici Genio & ſorte*, which was all you cared for, and which you promiſed your ſelf *tuti ſideris aſpectu:* take heed you become not *ſideratus*, for that is worſe than a Fanatick, *Sibi poſtula: Immenſa Numinis Magiſtas ſacratiſſimos & prorſus Auguſtos* Mecænates. Nay then I ſee you did indeed Dedicate the Book both to by Lord Arch-biſhop and the King, and in that precedence; or otherwiſe you have given my Lord a Title which he would not have thank'd you for: But the whole expreſſion, had any one but you, Mr. *Bayes*, uſed it, is very Pedanticall, for though you were ſcraping about for a *Mecænas*, God to be ſure ſtands not in need of one, or however not of your chuſing. But now your Theology thickens up-

on us: *Cum pro Aris dimicaverim cujus potius auxilia implorarem quam vestra, Venerande Antistes, qui jus tanquam numen Tutelare præstitet.* Here however you make my Lord indeed but a *Tanquam* Deity; but expect a little. *Non vide cujus tantundem interfit ut Victor evadam, quantam summi Pontificis: Nempe si opt. numini miperum abrogetur quia sequitur nisi protinus Maximo Pontifici abrogandum esse?* Really, Mr. *Bayes*, very closely argued, and from an efficacious Topick. But here you have made my Lord *Summus Pontifex* and *Pontifex Maximus*, to the great disparagement of the other *Old Gentleman* you speak of; but, which is more, the pegging out of the Prince, who might otherwise by your latter Law have pretended a title to the place, and exercised it in person. Beside that you have curtal'd *Optimus Maximus* from the Deity, and made him glad to go half with the Bishop, lest he should leave him nothing. But at last it comes in plain terms: *Adeo res eadem sit de numine bene mereri*

atque

atque de vestra Clementia; which I can English no otherwise but thus, Insomuch that it is the very same thing to deserve well of God as of your Grace. That afterwards is prity concerning your self: *Hosce Gigantum fraterculos non sat duxi expugnare nisi ut fabulantur superos*, &c. making that what had been but fabled of the Gods, you had atchiev'd in good earnest. Had my Lord seen't, or had but Sir *Francis Vere*, he would for certain have spit in your Mouth. but your last Collect is something strange, praying for him; *ut sero tandem in Triumphantis Ecclesiæ Gloriam & dignitatem* (that *dignitatem* comes off at last very poorly) *cooptetur*. 'Tis true better late than never; But to pray that it may be very late before a man get to Heaven; hath I confess been done in the case of a secular Prince once by a Heathen Poet; but was not so decent a piece of Chaplainship towards my Lord Archbishop. I see you writ, Mr. *Bayes*, here after the Copy of Mr. *Croxton*, and others in the former times; *sanc-*

ctissime Pater and *sanctitas vestra, spiritus sancti effusissime plenus; optimus Maximus que in terris; Quo rectior non stat Regula & quo prior est corrigenda Religio.* These were fine Complements to be bandyed among Ecclesiasticks. But what was in your mind, Mr. *Bayes*, to write this Letter, when a year after you appeal to Doctor *Bathurst*, *that it was he knew one of your greatest designs in this World to be one of the most unconcerned men in it?* You did it outof the meere abstracted generosity of your heart, and writ only your Letters Testimonial, in this manner, on my Lord Archbishops behalf. For what I perceive yon had by this breath only cool'd your own Porridge, and things were not as they should be, till upon further sollicitation you began to foresee and tell your friends *that you were exceedingly straitned in time*; and then a litttle after were all Cock a Hoop, *upon the very point of your departure to* London *My dearest Coz. (where you before us in the Sun-beams buz.) From Trin. Col. Oxon May 2.*

C. P. Ph. p. 1.

C. P. Ph. p. 184.

P. 242.

Reb. Com. p. 36.

Though

Though you are so fertil that when a man hath once begun, he can scarcely give over laughing, I have not forgotten that my occasion of quoting this your Epistle, was, to shew you might take it well I expres'd your Notion of God so modestly; when, in the very Treatise where you confound Atheism from *Pelion* to *Ossa* from top to bottom, yet you would at the same time for your own ends Deify a Person you had never seen, and worship an Unknown God. But you were so hungry at that time, that you would have ador'd an Onion, so it had cryed Come eat me.

Another reason why I said to you that to resolve Grace into Morality was almost the same as to make God a notional and Moral Existence, was from a Passage I met with in your *Platonick Philosophy. From all which Premises we see that Gods benignity, goodness, and beneficence, consist in a gracious propensity to let forth the Communication of his fulness to his Creatures, which being lodged in the Divine will, does not only suppose its freedom, but is also Subject to its determina-* C.P.Ph. p. 164.

minations; so that though it may incline yet it cannot either command or destroy its liberty: because if it should, it would not only interfere—Here is indeed material intellectual Puff-past; *Pinners-hall* has nothing like it. This is to show how excellent you are at quoiting a Pea to stick upon the Point of a Needle. But what would, I know not what, not only interfiere with? Why, *not only with Gods Moral accomplishments, but it would withall be inconsistent with it self.* Gods Morall accomplishments! If it were an Oath I should not think it binds me: but in the mean time methinks it has somthing in it bordering upon Blasphemy: But we Laymen do not distinguish well when the Clergy blaspheme, and when they speak reverently. You perhaps, Mr. *Bayes*, intended it very well and honourably, but you had talked your self round, and wanted a better word only: for I must confess 'twere proper enough to speak of the *Moral Accomplishments* of some young Gentleman at the Inns of Court that were upon his Preferment; but I do not remember

ber to have heard it uſed at any time upon this Occaſion. I hope you ſee by this time that a man might at your rate of talking have made God as well only a notional and Moral exiſtence. And to make the preaching of any other doctrine ridiculous you fall into ſuch a deſperate fit of blaſphemy as I never heard any man but your ſelf; you indeed have it often. *The Non-conformiſt Preachers*, you ſay, *make a grievous noiſe of the Lord* Chriſt, *talk loud of getting an intereſt in the* Lord Chriſt, *tell fine Romances of the ſecret Amours between the Believing Soul and the Lord* Chriſt, *and prodigious Stories of the miraculous feats of Faith in the Lord* Chriſt. Did ever Divine rattle out ſuch profane Balderdaſh! I cannot refrain, Sir, to tell you that you are not fit to have Chriſt in your mouth. You talk like a Mountebanke, and ſeem to know ſo little of our Saviour as if you had never convers'd but with *Salvator Winter*. Is this our great Champion againſt Atheiſme; is this he that tells young Gentlemen; *They are not acquainted* Repr. p. 56.

with

Pref. E. P. from p. 22. to p. 45. *with any Histories, unless that perhaps of the Follies and Amours of the French Court? Alas young Gentlemen you are too rash and forward: Your Confidence swells above your understandings. 'Tis not for you to pretend to Athisme. 'Tis too great a Priviledge for Boys and Novices. 'Tis sawcineſs for you to be profane, and to Censure Religion, Impudence and ill Manners.* It were so indeed in the presence of so great an Artist. They ought to expect till you have instructed them better in't, and set up an Academy and a publick Lecture to that purpose. What Distinction do you make betwixt the Amours of the French Court, and the secret Amours betwixt the believing Soul and the Lord *Christ?* What betwixt the Feats of Faith in the 11*th.* to the *Hebrews*, and the Chivalry of *Don Belianis* or *Don Quixote?* What between the Romances of the Lord Christ, and those of the *Grand Cyrus* or *Cleopatra?* None at all. *Tell me truly* as you are wont to conjure me, *and by the tyes of ancient Friendship*, was it not here that, as you told Do-

ctor

ctor *Bathurſt*, *the Recreation you took in frame your Thoughts and Conceptions into Words, did almoſt equal the Raviſhing delight you derive from their firſt Births and Diſcoveries?* it is an uncomely thing to paſs immediately from ſuch foul expreſſions into any diſcourſe of ſo ſerious a ſubject without ſome more cleanly tranſition; and a a man had need waſh himſelf firſt before he handles any place of Scripture after you have ſo bemired the Argument. 'Tis the fifth to the *Galatians* where you had before expounded the Fruits of the Spirit to be meer Moral virtues, and the *Joy*, *Peace* and *Faith* there ſpoken of to be only *Peaceableneſs*, *Chearfulneſs* and *Faithfulneſs*, as if they had been no more than the three Homileticall converſable Virtues, *Veritas*, *Comitas* and *Urbanitas*. and truly you do ſo face me out in juſtifying this your interpretation, that I was almoſt ready to have yielded it up and confeſs my ſelf in the wrong: Neither did I think it any thing extraordinary if you had chanced once in your life to have underſtood

C.P.P.b. 3. 1

E.P.p.72. *Def.*p.327. *Rep.*p.320.

ſtood a thing rightly, or for my ſelf to have been more than once miſtaken, But you do ſo inſult and vociferate upon it, like one of your *bulky* Princes who had the Trumpet ready to ſound whenſoever he hit the Ball at Tennis, that I have a mind to try a little further whether you were not in the Errour. In that of Faith you ſay *that whenſoever other acceptations it has in Scripture, 'tis to be expounded here of Faithfulneſs in oppoſition to the Prefidiouſneſs* of the *Gnoſticks*, Peace *of Peaceableneſs in oppoſition to the Contentiouſneſs of the Gnoſticks.* 'Tis pity that you could not invent too how Joy ſhould mean Chearfulneſs, in oppoſition to the Melancholy of the *Gnoſticks.* And you ſay that *Faith here is reckoned up as one of the Fruits of the Chriſtian Faith,* Rep. p. 121. *and therefore muſt be ſomething diſtinct from it, and therefore can be nothing but the virtue of Fidelity.* Whereas it is plainly enumerated as a Fruit of the Spirit of God here in the 22*d.* Verſe, and 'tis ſtrange you ſhould be ſo ſleepy as not have ſeen in the 5*th.* Verſe. *For*

we

we through the Spirit wait for the hope of Righteouſneſs by Faith: but you had indeed a particular reaſon to wink at that in this Controverſy. And in the 6th. Verſe, *in Jeſus Chriſt Faith only availeth which worketh by Love.* So that you have miſ-interpreted the Place only out of love to your notion, and by this pretence to enervate the Grace and Work of Gods Spirit. For even *Grotius* too, who is of great reputation with all men, and ought with you to have more authority than ordinary; does in his Annotation on this Text expound Faith to be here *Aperta Profeſsio veræ Fidei*, an open profeſſion of the true Faith, *& opponitur Hæreſibus.* So that, if I might adviſe you as a friend, 'twere convenient for you to quit your Comment, though being your own it muſt needs be dear to you; and obſerve rather the Apoſtles rule in the laſt Verſe of the ſame Chapter, *Let us not be deſirous of Vainglory, provoking one another, envying one another.* But of all that you ſay in this buſineſs nothing is more pleaſant then where arguing this matter

ter you say to me; *If you have credit enough to borrow a Bible in the neighbourhood, you will quickly find (if you can find the Epistle) that St. Paul is there describing the opposite effects between the Flesh and the Spirit, and therefore as all the Fruits of the Flesh there reckoned up are Immoral Vices, so must all the Fruits of the Spirit there opposed to them be Moral Virtues.* It follows not. For those that speak distinguishingly of Grace understand thereby an extraordinary Work of Gods Spirit, subduing their Wills, and heightning mens performances beyond the possibility of our endeavours. But no Fanatick, nor Un-fanatick ever doubted but that men have pravity enough to be wicked, without any extraordinary assistance of some other Spirit. So that you argue; Men have sufficient Power of their own to do that which is Evil, therefore the have sufficient Power also of themselves by an ordinary influence to do that which is Good and Adequate to Salvation. I deny not nevertheless that some sins are so desperate and of so high Malice and Contrivance,

Rep. p. 118.

trivance, that no man could invent them out of his own Ingenuity, or practice them in his own Confidence, but muſt be ſtrengthned thereto by ſupernatural Auxiliaries, and then indeed the Oppoſition you ſpeak of betwixt Immoral Vices and Moral Virtues or, as others, betwixt Sin and Grace, is more full and runs parallel. And ſeeing you are talking of *Gnoſticks* (but I have lately given you a caution about them, and I cannot find in Hiſtory how the *Gnoſticks* had already made an inrode upon the *Galatians.*) *Simon Magus*, that goes for one of them with you, is one that mounted above the humane pitch in his performances, and men *tell us prodigious ſtories of the miraculous feats* that he did, but it was by the extraordinary aſſiſtance of two Devils, one it ſeems not having been ſufficient. But, as to the main Controverſie of the Non-conformiſts diſtinguiſhing betwixt Grace and Morality, you only ſhew therein the Malice of your Wit: Whereas there is none of them but acknowledges

Morality to be absolutely necessary, and that without it Christianity is nothing; but however that to render men capable of Salvation there is a more extraordinary influence of Gods Spirit required and promised. You in the mean time make merry with it, and as in your *Reproof* (to shew your skill in Anatomy) you will have Conscience to be seated in the *Glandula Pinealis* ('twas civily done however that you placed it not in some other *Glandule*.) So in your *Defence*, you say, *It were an easie task for a man that understands the Anatomy of the Brain, the structure of the Spleen and Hypochondria*, the Divarications *of the Nerves, their twistings about the Veins and Arteries, and the Sympathy of the Parts, to give as certain and Mechanical an account of all its Fanatick freaks and phrensies, as of any Vital or Animal function in the body. The Philosophy of a Fanatick being as intelligible by the Laws of Mechanisme, as the Motion of the Heart and Circulation of the Blood, And there are some Treatises that give a more exact and consistent*

Def. p. 342.

Hypothesis

Hypotheſis of Enthuſiaſme than any Des Cartes *has given of the natural reſults of matter and motion.* 'Tis very well ſaid, and what was to be expected from one as you, of whoſe Philoſophy and Religion the Mechaniſme is ſo viſible in the *Tentamina*, concerning that *Sophiſme of Nature*, and the *vehemens & effrænata venerei coitus cupiditas & exquiſitiſsima voluptas*, though there is a Maxime on the other ſide, *Omne Animal triſte eſt poſt coitum, præter Gallum Gallinaceum, & Sacellanum gratis fornicantem.* But this Hypotheſis of yours, confounding the extraordinary influx of Gods Spirit for the Power of Nature, ſeems to ariſe from your being ill principled, and not well read in the Doctrine of the Church of *England* concerning Original ſin, which you make *not be a Crime but an infelicity inflicted by God himſelf upon Mankind, as a Puniſhment of* Adams *Sin, and what is an Act of his* (that was Gods) *will, can be no faults of ours.* We ſhould be all engaged to you would you carry this point thorow and make it good. And another

Tent. p. 105.

Def. p. 198.

reason of your opinion is your too high conceit of mens good Works; as if, contrary to the stream of the Scripture, we could be thereby justified. For though you would make all the Party of *English* Non-conformists answer for one passage in *Flacius Illyricus*; *Bona Opera sunt perniciosa ad Salutem*, 'tis falsly imposed upon them by you; and twere well that you understood *Flacius* himself rightly; for whosoever shall to the prejudice of our Saviours merit, and debasing the operation of the Holy Ghost, attribute too much to his own natural vigour and performances, will be in some danger of finding his *Bona Opera pernicioſa ad Salutem*. For mine own part I have, I confess, some reason, perhaps particular to my self, to be diffident of mine own *Moral Accomplishments*. & therefore may be the more inclinable to think I have a necessity of some extraordinary assistance to sway the weakness of my belief, and to strengthen me in good duties. If you be stronger I am glad of it; and let every man after he has read and consider'd what

Rat. Pol. p. 74.

what we have of it in the Scripture, and what even in our Common Prayer book, take what course and opinion he thinks the safest. But this Controversie is of so high a nature that it overthrows your Maxime, that *all things disputable are little*: and the matter is so serious that it is not fit for you and me to treat of it in such a mixed and perfunctory Stile. You have already been answer'd upon this Subject by one, who at least rivals you in the Knowledge and Practice either of Grace or Morality. And as to your *chalenge* to all the world *to produce any ancient writer that has understood this matter otherwise then you have done*, if you will but have a little patience, I am told that it will be accepted and complyed with. Therefore I shall not at present oblige my self further to this dispute: and indeed, though what I could say might perhaps add not much weight or moment to the better understanding of it, yet neither on the other side do I think you a fit man to be discoursed with of such matters. For to what purpose

ſhould I make a ſecret of that which you make it your buſineſs to divulge and propagate among all, but eſpecially female, Companies? Are not you the ſame perſon that ſay; *of all things in the world you would not make your Son a Preacher?* 'Twas ſeaſonably and timely conſider'd. *For tis better being drunk twice then making one Sermon.* Do not you *invey againſt the drudgery of that Sacred Office*, to which nevertheleſs you have ſo many titles? But yet you ſay, *you can indure it pretty well, and it goes pleaſantly off, when you have a company of handſom young Women for your Auditory? but the old Jades do quite diſguſt you, and they are mobled up like ſo many Judges.* Are not you he that think it below your Dignity to ſtep down to the Private Prayers in the family; and that, an honeſt Gentleman of your old acquaintance lodging with you in your chamber, left him to his Devotions, and told him you had in the mean while ſpent your time to as good purpoſe in reading of *Plutarch?* Do not you jeer the Women when they are ſerious and tell them;

them; *you are troubled with Sin I warrant you: 'tis nothing but some fond scruple the Minister has put into your head; let them learn of you, for you your self have not sin'd this quarter o' a year?* Is it not you that entertain them with a leading Narrative, of *a certain Lady that stray'd up into your Chamber, where you drunk her up to such an height till you had drunk her down, and lay'd her upon your bed till you had recover'd her?* You told a Lady of better quality; that, *in case Popery were introduced, you would be one of the first to comply with it.* What must others then do, think you, after your so illustrious example? Is not this, think you, *very edifying Doctrine for the White aprons?* Yet, I assure you, I would not have told you of it, but that I have very good Authority for't. In the mean time therefore, if you will take my advice, do not you intermeddle further in this dispute, but make friends as soon as you can both with Grace and Virtue: for, how inconsiderable soever you may imagine them at present, you may at some time or other stand in need of both

their assistance. You draw into this brangle too reverend Mr. *Hooker*, though he is unconcern'd in it, and you use his name continually as a piece of Inchantment only, that you understand not. For I have Commission to tell you that you said in good Company (*Hang Mr.* Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Politie; it was a long winded book, and you never had the patience to read it, but it was no matter you would alwayes upbraid the Non conformists with him, for you knew the Rogues had not read it neither.* And truly this is your usual practice and ingenuity as to other Authors.

The fourth thing, which I transient'ly objected to you, was your asserting that it was necessary to punish men more severe'y for their Errours in Religious Perswasions, then for their Immoralities and Debaucheries: and upon this therefore you greedily fix, pretending to some advantage. You say, *that I have exhibited so foul a charge against you, without referring so much as to one passage of yours to make it good, and that therefore I prove nothing at all,* Repr. p. p. 65.

but

but that I have a bold face and a foul mouth, For we all know, you ſay, (what we are you? I doubt you ſtand ſingle and no man elſe will vouch for you) *that you are not unskilful in improving the ſmalleſt and moſt inconſiderable advantages, that had you been furniſh'd with any ſhadow of proof, you would have ſmother'd it,* &c. Really I began upon this your confidence to miſdoubt my ſelf, being very willing to believe that you had ſome reliques of Honeſty, eſpecially in a matter that would be manifeſt and evident to all men that would have recourſe to my former book. Hereupon I went to it my ſelf. There I found: *Having thus inabled the Prince, diſpenſed with Conſcience, and fitted up a Moral Religion for that Conſcience, to ſhow how much thoſe Moral Virtues are to be valued,* p. 53. *of his Preface to the Eccleſiaſtical Politie, he affirms that it is abſolutely neceſſary to the peace and happineſs of Kingdoms, that there be ſet up a more ſevere Government over mens Conſciences, and religious perſwaſions then over their Vices and Immoralities:* and p. 55. *of the ſame, that Princes*

Eccl. Tr. p. 100, & 101.

may

may with leſs hazard give liberty to mens Vices and Debaucheries then their Conſciences. Then again I find that I have quoted you, ſpeaking of honeſt and well-meaning men, to have ſaid; *So eaſie is it for men to deſerve to be puniſhed for their Conſciences, that there is no Nation in the world in which were government rightly underſtood and duly managed, miſtakes and abuſes of Religion would not ſupply the Galleys with vaſtly greater numbers then Villany*, For that I cited your *p.* 223. And I immediately add *p.* 44. *of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie he ſaith of all Villains the well-meaning zelote is the moſt dangerous*, Do I not by all this ſo much as refer to one paſſage of yours? And again, nnder the title of *Debauchery Tolerated*, (foraſmuch as you adviſe in that *p.* 55. rather to tolerate that than Conſcience) I refer in my *p.* 119. which is no great diſtance, to the very ſame paſſages. And it had been needleſs to cite any more, your book being full and crawling all over with ſuch expreſſions. And further (for having been deſirous you ſhould take notice of it

Reh. Tr. p. 102.

Reh. Tr. p. 119.

I have reminded you in several places) I find I have objected the same to you, *and that you are contented the Non-conformists should be exposed to the Pillories, whipping-Posts, Galleys, Rods and Axes, and moreover and above to all other punishments whatsoever, provided they be of a severer nature then those that are inflicted on men for their Immoralities, &c. So that although a man should be guilty of all those heinous enormities, not to be named among Christians, beside all lesser Peccadillos expresly against the ten Commandments, or such other part of the Divine Law as shall be of the Magistrates making, he shall be in a better condition, and more gently handled then a well-meaning Zelot.* Is here again no Reference so much as to one passage no shadow of proof? Gentle Reader, what shall we do with this man, that puts us continually upon such tedious task in things so notorious? And you, Mr. *Bayes*, in what a miserable case are you, so distracted that you know neither what to do, nor what you do! Whereas I told you there was a Maxime established for

Reh. Tr. p. 125, & 126.

for one ſort of men, that 'tis neceſſary they ſhould have good memories. Yet ſuch is my fate to have to do with ſuch a man all along and thorow; inſomuch that, though I am no forward Undertaker, I think I can manifeſt to you when you are at leiſure, that in the Reproof (a book but of 528 pages) you are guilty of at leaſt a thouſand Falſhoods: therefore I hope men will not be too forward to be impoſed upon by you. But for my ſelf, I am therefore ſo little moved with all the aſperſions and ill language wherewith you have fraught your diſcourſe, that I can

C. Pl. Ph. p. 1. only ſay your Tongue is not made of Bone: or that, whatever other Slave you be, which your ſelf owned, you are not, (that I may ſuit you with a Cardinals phraſe) a Slave of your word. Whereas, next after this *Tentamen* of your veracity you tax me for

Repr. p. 70. ſaying, *'Tis demonſtrable that for one War upon a Fanatick or Religious account, there have been an hundred occaſioned by the thirſt and glory of Empire; and more have ſprung from the contentiouſneſs and ambition of ſome of the Clergy*: to give

no

no leſs Eſſay of your Candor, you fall on turning and wreſting that, quite forgetting what follows, and was direct to the matter in hand; *but the moſt of all from the corruption of manners, and unjuſt fatal Debauchery.* But however, you ſay *if this were true, 'tis lamentable impertinent; for all the Wars that do concern our preſent debate, are Rebellions and not Invaſions.* Who told you that? But 'tis probable Rebellions as well as Invaſions have ſprung from the ſame turbulence. I for my part left it applicable either way, and therefore, if it will do you any ſervice, you may if you pleaſe add Rebellions too into the Scale, and I will ſubmit it to be weigh'd by the Reader. And whereas you would confound my terms, as if it were all one, a War upon a Fanatick or Religious account, and a War from the Contentiouſneſs and ambition of the Clergy; I ſuppoſe few that read it, beſide your ſelf, but will perceive that the Religious or Fanaticks are directly oppoſed there and diſtinguiſh'd from the predominant Clergy. But as to your

Reh. Tr. p. 122.

Repr. p. 70.

your buſineſs of *Algebra*, and your computation of an hundred Wars, or an hundred and one, it is I confeſs very ingenious: 'tis worth my quoting; *if an hundred have been occaſioned by thirſt and glory of Empire, then if more by the ambition and contentiouſneſs of the Clergy, there have been at leaſt an hundred and one of the laſt.* As to this, Ec. Pol. p. 216. be pleas'd to read that paſſage in your *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, where you ſay; *'tis eaſie for one Commonwealth that has gain'd by Rebellion to produce an hundred that it has hazarded, if not utterly ruined?* if you will firſt name me an hundred Common-wealths, I will joyn iſſue with you: and I will drop Clergy againſt Common-wealth, till one of us come at the end of our reckoning. You then cite me for having ſaid on occaſion of your greater rigour againſt Non-conformity then Debauchery, *that compariſons of Vice* Repr. p 71. *are dangerous*; which *jumps*, you ſay, *with as wiſe a Paradox of the Stoicks, that all Crimes are equal*: This of yours is a very ſtrong conſequence, and if it will hold I ask your pardon, for I aſſure

you

you I did not intend it ſo. But, however you can wring this againſt my known meaning, that of the Stoicks ſuits much better with a paſſage of your own formerly quoted; *that all Laws Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical equally oblige the Conſcience.* If they equally oblige the Conſcience, a common underſtanding would thiuk that all Crimes are Equall. But as to the Hinge of the Controverſie; that is the danger to the publick, you affirming that; *Debauchery or Immorality rarely proves ſo dangerous, as either ſerious or affected pretenſes of Religion*: (pity it were that ſerious pretenſes ſhould prove ſo) take but out at adventure any one Kingdom for inſtance, and work your Queſtion upon it, I ſuppoſe you will find the contrary: But I know upon what ground and reaſon principally you maintain this Maxime. It is from your hatred and fear of Reformation; wherein you tread in the very foot-ſteps of Doctor *Heylin* and ſome others, who have deliberately applyed themſelves to vilifie and make odious the Foreign,

Repr. p. 34.

Rep. p. 68.

and

and even the *Englifh* Reformation than which they could not have invented any thing more obliging to the *Rimifh* Church and meritorious. For the Foreign Reformation was indeed wrought out of the Fire, and increased in thofe other Countries either by the Wars and Perfecutions ſtirred up againſt it, or elſe did it ſelf draw the Sword in defence of the juſt Civil Liberties (for it ſeldome can happen but that Tyranny in Religion introduces it ſelf by an Invaſion of Propriety.) And therefore it was that our ſeverall Princes, and particularly King *James* (who was Conſcientious and knowing as any man in that point) have ingaged both their Swords and Pens, both Reaſon of State and of Religion, not only their Publick but their Private Conſciences in that quarrel: And, if there muſt always be Wars, I know no Cauſe more juſtifiable, nor any Deſign which were in Prudence more fitting to be ſtill proſecuted and continued. Divers alſo of our Biſhops and eminenteſt men in our *Church* have appear'd in

the

the justifying of the Foreign Reformation. For otherwise, though Ours was indeed brought about something more peaceably, the Church of *Rome*, if we should single out our selves from other Protestants, would have found it more weak, if not more pliable, and might urge the same if not stronger and more efficacious Arguments against us. But you may at this rate of *the danger of serious pretenses of Religion*, lay in your usual confidence that; whosoever our Princes were, and throw in King *James* too, and King *Charles*, and Parliaments, Bishops and Convocations and all, you must and will declare that they were miserably out in their Divinity. And upon the same Reason and Apprehension it is that you would be this severe at home; and do raise this out-cry against Non-conformity in balance to Debauchery; that you may thereby quench the good inclinations of my Lords the Bishops either as to a revisal of themselves, or moderation toward others; incense his Majesty against so estimable a part of his

people; insuriate and inviperate the Nation against peaceable Dissenters; and all to amuse men from observing, or to perswade them into the protecting of your own irregularities. Hence it is that you say, *tender Consciences,*

E.P.p.172 *instead of being complyed with, must be restrained with more peremptory and unyielding rigour then naked and unsanctified Villany.* Hence; *if Governours would consider seriously into what*

E. P.p.18. *exorbitances peevish and untoward principles about Religion naturally improve themselves, they could not but perceive it to be as much their Concernment to punish them with the severest afflictions as any whatsoever Principles of Rebellion in the State.* Nay once you appeal to Governours themselves (which is an extraordinary piece of Civility in you)

Ibid. *to judge whether it does not concern them with as much vigilance and severity either to prevent their rise, or suppress their growth, as to punish any the foulest Crimes of Immorality.* 'Tis something like the Story of *Gandomar* this, who from the example of a Mother that whip'd her Girle beforehand least she should break

break the Pitcher, argued that Sir *Walter Rawleighs* head should be cut off before he went too *Guiana*. Indeed it is the very wisdom of *Herod*, who, left there should a King be born among them, Massacred all the Children at *Bethlehem*. So they must be prevented, or so suppressed. As (and more then) any the fouleſt Immorality, as (and more then) any Principles of Rebellion. So here is a Law, that not to kneel at the Lords Supper shall be more Penall than Murther, not to wear a Surplice more Criminall than Adultery; and to omit the Croſs in Baptiſme leſs Pardonable than Perjury. If this were once, as you would have it, enacted and, that the whole Conventicle should forfeit their Lives and Eſtates as in other caſes of Treaſon, do you think that *God has annexed the ſame Penalties* too here *to Diſobedience to Mans Laws as* thrown? You have already thrown in *Queen and Convocation and all*; but, if you will maintain this Maxime, you muſt too throw in our Saviour and Apoſtles and all; and *declare that*

they are no less miserably out in their Divinity. But you imagine doubtless, and do not a little applaud your self for the invention; that by the Doctrine of punishing Non-conformity more severely than the foulest Immorality, you have made your self the Head of a Party, and a World of People will clutter henceforward to shelter themselves under the Wing of you Patronage. I confess it is a great and brave undertaking, and which, I believe, none ever managed before, nor will be so hardy as to take it up again for the future. Let it be Ingraven on your Tomb But perhaps nevertheless you may fail in your account, and, though you reckon your Function to be a Drudgery, & do in your Printed books debase, as much as you dare, the value of the Bible under the scornful name of *the English Bible*; and not only Satyrize the Non-conformists Sermons, but traduce all Preaching, and make it seem unnecessary, that so the Liturgy might be sufficient for Salvation, I believe you will find very few that will come up to you. For whether it be

the

the Laity, there are not many of them such Libertines but they would be glad to learn better, and once a Week to be told of their faults by an exemplary Teacher. And though you brave it like a Landlord, and that the *Clergy are possess'd by as good right of their revenue as any Seculars* (only it were to be wish'd that Benefices were hereditary) they have a Rustick kind of opinion that you ought to do something for't, and that, whereas you have the Tythe of their labour, they should have the whole of yours. This perhaps you think unreasonable: but they think too, worse, that you may well abide to give them good example; forasmuch as you are pay'd for living soberly and honestly among them, whereas they must be good at their own expence. And this is and hath been alwayes their Clownish humour that they may see something for their Money: neither are any almost so debauch'd that they will grudge their dues to a grave learned and pious Minister; but most think for such an one nothing is too much, and for the con-

trary nothing too little. This you think hard dealing here in your Re-
Rep. p. 339. *proof*, and yet I assure you there is pinches. And moreover, though you would pretend never so much to be the Landlord of your Living, if you do not behave your self there as you should do, I think there is a very legal way to devest you of your Propriety, and there is a Trust reposed in some Persons to look to your manners. Neither on the other side are the Clergy so generally depraved that they need fly to you for Sanctuary: and I know many of them that conne you little thank for so scandalous a Doctrine. For those of them indeed that are among them debauch'd and immoral, there could not any thing more inveagling or more seasonable have been calculated. You have gained your self immortal renown, and how they chuckle and hug themselves and you for the invention. *It is a Crime*
Rep. p. 335. *in a Clergy man to be happy, nay to be a man. And if he will but be unkind and uncivil to himself, they will love him for that if for nothing else.* There

spoke

spoke an Arch-Deacon. But you should not serve your self in such occasions of so equivocal and applicable expressions, lest ill use should be made of them beyond your intention. Who can tell whether the good Doctor at *York* last *Shrove-Tuesday* were unkind and uncivil to himself? Your Curate of *Ickham*, when he laid with his Maid, whether was not he kind to himself? And even you when you dissolved that precious Lady in good Sack at your Chamber, were not you kind to your self? And when you first got your *Dull and Lazy Distemper*, were not you unkind to your self? Men are too prone to expound such passages to their own Inclinations: and some *Wag* may chance to write an History of the Clergies Kindnesses to themselves, and their Unkindnesses. Therefore let me request you, Mr. *Bayes*, the next time to define how that Word *unkind to himself*, or *uncivil to himself* is to be understood properly for the future. But in good earnest, were it not for some that are unkind to themselves, you and your fellows would soon for-

feit all the Clergies Reputation. But of all your Freaks upon this Subject of punishing Non-conformity beyond the foulest Immorality, there is none so capricious as the Declaration which you have without any occasion administred on my part, and with a boldness beyond all precedent drawn up in his Majesties name. Yet seeing you are here so obligingly courteous to me as to promise me your Licence and the Liberty of the Press in these words p. 67. of your *Reproof*, that: *If any or he, or any Body else hereafter ought to object against it, you know the Press is open*, do your worst: I accept the favour, and seeing your Declaration, I doubt, hath not so well been taken notice of for want of the Character in which such Publick matters ought to be promulged, I have in return of your Civility prevail'd with my Printer to do you a cast of his Office.

By the Arch-Deacon.

A DECLARATION

For the Tolerating of

DEBAUCHERY.

BAYES.

WHereas ever since our happy Restauration, we have had a special care for the interest and security of the Church of England, exercised with all severity all penal Laws against whatsoever sort of Non-conformists and Recusants; but yet finding by the sad experience of 12 years, how ineffectual all forcible courses are either to reduce or restrain dissenters, We think our self obliged to make use of that unhoopable Power, that is naturally inherent in us, not granted by Christ, but belonging to us and our Predecessors

decessors under the broad Seal of Nature next and immediately before him. By vertue whereof we have and claim an absolute dominion not only over the consciences of all our subjects, but over all the Laws of God and Man, so as to repeal or dispense with their obligation, as shall from time to time seem good to our Royal Will and Pleasure. And therefore that we may obviate and prevent those mischiefs that are likely to befall our Kingdom from the sobriety and demureness of the Non conformists, our Will and Pleasure is to give a free and uncontrolable Licence to all manner of Vice and Debauchery; and of our Princely Grace and Favour we release to all our Loving Subjects the Obligation of the Ten Commandments, and all Laws of God, and Statutes of this Realm whatsoever contrary to the contents of this our Declaration: And we require of all Judges, Justices and other Officers whatsoever, that

that the execution of all manner of penalties annexed to the Laws aforesaid, whether by Pillories, Whipping-posts, Gallies, Rods or Axes, &c. be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended. From whence we hope by the Blessing of God to give some check and allay to the insolence of Fanatick Spirits, and by debauching our good people out of all tenderness of Conscience to free our Kingdoms from those great and grievous annoyances, wherewith they perpetually disturb our Government, and at last bring back all the advantages of peace and good fellowship, both to our Self and all our loving Subjects, &c.

Given at Our Archi-Diaconal Court, the First day of *May*, 1673.

GOD SAVE THE KING:

And——the Inventor.

LONDON,
Printed for *James Collins* at the Kings Arms in *Ludgate-street*, 1673.

The thing, Mr. *Bayes*, is very Judiciously drawn up by you: only I am surpized thus to see it conclude with an, *&c.* For it is true that I have heard in the former times of the *Et-cætera* Oath, and there was another Dignitary, who like you penn'd Declarations; yet I never saw before an *Et-cætera* Declaration. But I cannot comprehend by what License from his Majesty, or upon what occasion from me you have publish'd so daringly this Paper. For if you have any conceal'd criticism upon those words, *Debauchery Tolerated*, I explain'd what I meant by what I quoted out of you, and accused you no further then what those words signified and Imported. And the Fact stood thus. His Majesty before his happy return transmitted hither a Gracious Declaration concerning Liberty to Tender Consciences, and hath ever since pursued it. You, on the contrary, declare *p.* 55. before quoted, and in many passages the same, *That Princes may with less hazard give Liberty to mens Vices and Debaucheries then to their Consciences.* But

2

a Toleration or Indulgence to Conſcience has been thought adviſable. Do not you then maintain that a Liberty to Vice and Debauchery was the more adviſable of the two? And was not this enough to charge you in the terms of *Debauchery tolerated?* But as for his Majeſty, he had ſufficiently manifeſted his judgment both of the one and the other by a Declaration of Indulgence to tender Conſciences, and by a Proclamation againſt Debauchery: ſo that you had little reaſon to raiſe ſo malapert an alluſion, and profane his name in a Mock-declaration, which indeed is your own and no mans elſe, and is not unſuitable to your Principles and Practiſe. Yet whatſoever miſchief you intended by it, (for ſome you intend always) I am perſwaded you were partly tranſported by the Ornament that you thought it would be to your Book. Nay, I do not think but you took it for a great piece of Wit, ſo great, that for its ſake and two or three Speeches that you make for the Parliament men, you writ the whole Book; or elſe

else I had scaped both *Reproof* and *Correction.* But because I have observed how careful you are to find out, before you attempt a great jump of wit, some convenient Rise, and you would not doubtless have penn'd so notable a Declaration without some Precedent, I cast about where to meet with it, and after a little searching, I found this in the *Cæsares Juliani*, where that Emperour having undertaken to Marshal his Predecessors under the Patronage of some proper Deity, when he comes to *Constantine* does thus Satyrically represent him. *But* Constantine *not being able among all the Gods to find a Patern of his own life, casting his eye about saw the Goddess of Luxury near him, and streight ran to her. She hereupon receiving him delicately and embracing him, trickt him up in Womans cloaths, and conducted him to the Goddess of Intemperance. finding his Son returned, and making to all men this publick* Proclamation

Let all men take notice, of whatsoever condition and quality, whether they be Adulterers, or Murtherers, or guilty of

any

any other Immorality, Vice, *or* Debauchery, *that hereby they are warranted and invited to continue boldly and confidently in the same, and I declare that, upon dipping themselves only in this Water, they are, and shall be so reputed, pure and blameless to all intents and purposes. And moreover, as oft as they shall renew and frequent such other* Vices, Immoralities or Debaucheries. *I do hereby give and grant to them and every one of them, respectively, that by thumping his Breast, or giving but himself a pat on the Forehead, he shall thereupon be immediately discharged and absolved of all guilt and penalty therefore incurred by any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.*

This is in the 99th. Page of that Book, Printed at *Paris* 1583. to prevent any such accident for the future as that of the Epistle to *Marcellinus*; for I am sensible of the great trouble I thereby gave you, though you have it recompensed by the great reputation you have acquired by your learned criticisms upon it. But good, Mr. *Bayes*, surely you were hard set, that

you

you had no body here to go to but *Julian the Apostate* for an Invention. Or however, if you had contracted some acquaintance or similitude with him, you could not have pick'd out a more unhappy instance for your imitation then this present. For, as he in this Proclamation ingratefully derides *Constantine*, so do you traduce his Majesty by your Declaration, which deserves to perish with your Book: whereas he by his Proclamation against Debauchery hath sufficiently testified his judgement, and, as he hath resembled *Constantine* in his patience and industry toward composing (howsoever obstructed) the Ecclesiastical differences among us, so in his Largess and Munificence to the Church hath far exceeded him.

And this leads me directly to your fifth Play, Mr. *Bayes*, of *Persecution recommended*: though I might perhaps more properly have call'd it a *Spectacle*, and exceeding whatsoever was exhibited at any time among the *Romans*, for cruelty. I had hereupon said, that, Julian *himself who was first*

Repr. p. 73.

a Reader and held forth in the Christian Churches, before he turn'd Apostate, and then Persecutor, could not have out-done us either in Irony or Cruelty: and for the truth of that I refer to your whole Ecclesiastical Politie. You return me in answer to this passage; (for in my whole Book I have but this once mention'd him) *you bring the Emperour Julian upon the Stage, as a more cruel and execrable Monster of Persecution then Antichrist or the Dragon himself, and y uth ew your slaver upon him with so much scorn and rudeness that the People take him for as very a rake-shame as Bishop* Bonner, *or Pope* Hildebrand. You are very gentle, Mr. *Bayes*, and good natured to extremity; which makes me the more wonder at this transport, for in your whole Book there are not above one or two like instances, and you have imbraced no mans quarrel with more concernment and vehemency. There must be something extraordinary in it. Had I then known that he was so old an acquaintance of yours as I since find in your *Platonick Philosophy*, or had

Rah. Tr. p. 124.

Repr. p. 73.

I imagined that he was so near of kin to you, and one of your *Dearest Cuzzes*, I should perhaps, according to the rules of conversation, have spoke of him with more respect, but however I am cautioned sufficiently for the future. Especially seeing he has so ample Testimonial from you, *that he was a very civil Person, a great* Virtuoso, *and though somewhat heathenishly inclined, yet he had nothing of a persecuting Spirit in him against Christians as may be seen at large in* Ammianus Marcel. l. 22. And you add immediately; *unless you will suppose, as he did, that there is no such effectual way of persecuting an establish'd Church, as by suspending all Ecclesiastical proceedings against Schismaticks and Hereticks and granting an unlimited Universal Toleration.* I do not suppose it, but you do; and it is one of the greatest argumenrs in your *Ecclesiastical Politie* against Toleration or Indulgence, Therefore let us see what your

Am. l. 22. p. 225. *Ammianus* saith, *But when* Julian *observed that he was now free to do what he would, he reveal'd his secret design, and*

by

by plain and absolute Edicts commanded that the Temples should be open'd, sacrifices offer'd, and the Worship of the Gods restored: and to strengthen the effect of what he had proposed to himself, he therefore called the Christian Bishops that were at odds with one another, and their divided people together into his Palace, admonishing them that laying aside their intestine quarels, every one should boldly exercise without all disturbance his own Religion; which he therefore did that, this Liberty increasing their dissentions, he might be secured thenceforward against the unanimating of the Christian people. for he had found by experience, that no Beasts were so cruel against man, as Christians for the most part are inveterate against one another. So it was then, and so you would still have it. But what have you yet gain'd by this Author? Under his Toleration they grew to a better understanding and Union; under his Persecution they cimented still closer; and so it will always probably succeed: whereas, in the former flourishing times, the Church was so miserably rent by the

factions and contests of the then Bishops; and so was *Julian*'s experiment, and so I hope will all others of that kind be frustrated. But further does not your *Ammianus* tell you of *a most inhumane Edict, and in respect to Julian's memory fit to be buried in perpetual silence, that no Grammarian or Rhetorician should presume to teach any Christian.* This he twice mentions with the same remark. Does he not tell you that *Apollo's Temple at* Antiochia *being burnt down*, whether by chance and *Asclepiades* the Heathen Philosophers candle, or otherwise, *he upon meer suspicion caus'd the Christians to be question'd and tormented more severely then usual, and commanded their great Church at* Antioch *to be shut up thenceforward.* He saith too *that* Julian *left behind him there a turbulent and cruel Governor on purpose, affirming that he was not worthy of the Place, but the People deserv'd to be so handled.* So that this Author makes as much herein against your *great Virtuoso*, as could be expected from one that was no Christian, and in *Julian*'s Service.

Am. l. 25. p. 316. & l. 22. p. 239.

Am. l. 23. p. 257.

Let

Let this therefore serve as a return to you for my 5th *ad Marcellinum*, on which you spend so many pages: for this upon *Fifth Play*, you know, and mean your *Marcellinus*: Only you have made him but *Marcel*: and have, out of a certain instinct nibbled off the end of him, least he should at any time fly in your face. But if upon occasion of this *Marcellinus* you had here too remember'd St. *Austin* 18. *de Civitate Dei*, you might have been better informed concerning your *Julian*. Or if you will not admit him, would you but have given as much credit to *Gregory Nazianzen*, or to *Chrysostome*, and *Nectarius*, and all the Ecclesiastical Writers of that time, as to *Ammianus Marcellinus* an Heathen Soldier, you could not sure have had so good an opinion of him. I have upon this occasion from you, made a Collection whereby to manifest that during his short reign, there was by his means and under his Authority as great, if not greater, ravage and cruelty exercised then in any of the former Persecu-

tions : but I will not ſo far gratifie your ignorance or your falſhood. You perhaps, becauſe his is not reckoned among the ten Perſecutions, thought there had been no more, neither in his time, nor Pope *Hildebrands*, nor Biſhop *Bonners*, nor ſince. But I have truly a better eſteem of your reading, and that all this comes from that good inclination you have to ſuch matters; ſo that you either ſneer them off at the end of your noſe as old impertinent Stories, to jeer out our credulity, or do openly aver a known falſhood in defence of *Julian*, for whom you have ſo great a friendſhip, and whoſe actions you approve of. But no man will think the better of your cauſe, for your juſtifying it by Panegyricks of *Julian the Apoſtate* and Cardinal *Granvell*. The ripping up of Bellies, and tearing of mens Bowels, the whipping of Virgins, digging out their Eyes, pulling forth their Teeth, cutting off Hands and Tongues, breaking of Legs, boyling of men in Caldrons, grilling them on Grid-irons, roaſting them on Spits,

fricaſſing

fricassing them in Frying-pans, were but a small part of the Felicities of *Julians* Empire, *that* Virtuoso, *and who had nothing of a persecuting Spirit against Christians.* He was I see an excellent Cook for your Palate: and what Ragousts had here been for you to have furnish'd the *Mazarines* on your Table! you that can relish nothing less then Pillories, Whipping-posts, Galleys, Rods and Axes!' Tis true nevertheless that I find not any Edict of his against Christians: for his Malice solaced it self in a more subtle way, by interpreting an old Statute about the violating of Temples; and under colour of that he proceeded against them, and caus'd them either to abjure their faith, or quit their Estates, and if they chose the last, he subjected them notwithstanding to death, and the most exquisite torments. Truly, Mr. *Bayes*, you have a very notable face, and many men I meet very like you. *Caligula* before, how great a resemblance was there betwixt you? and now *Julian*, one would almost swear you were spit

out of his Mouth. He set up a Nick-name for the Christians, to mark them out to be knock'd o th' head: So do you give the Non-conformists the name of Fanaticks, as he them of *Galileans*; but the great *Galilean* was too hard for him. Pray Sir, who are these Fanaticks? Most of 'em, I assure you, better men then your self, of truer principles then you are, and more conformable to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: only you by the advantage of some Knick-knacks have got the ascendent over them, and left them in the lurch, so that now you have the priviledge to miscall, abuse and triumph over them at your pleasure. And above all the Pestilence of *Julian's* wit and yours is incomparable, but betwixt you. There is not any more visible Token of a mean Spirit then to taunt and scoff at those in affliction, and for a man by virulent jeers to exasperate and impoyson the wounds of his own giving. Such words are like chaw'd Bullets; and as if it were not sufficient to shoot thorow, you invenom them with your

Spittle

Spittle. Neither is any torment to an ingenuous mind so sensible as to be so insulted over, and for him that undertakes to be their Judge to pelt them with such expressions of malice, as the condemned themselves *in Curiæ gressu* would not have used though it were their privilege. There is a certain Civility due to such as suffer, and to bruise a broken Reed is inhumane. Nevertheless such was *Julians* practice, and when he seized the Estates of the Christians, it was, he said, but to discharge them of this worldly pelf, that being quit of such baggage they might march on to Heaven with better expedition. When he tormented them he was not only a Reader, but a Preacher, and instructed them that it was their part only to be Patient under Affliction, for so *Christ* their King had commanded them. And you in like manner point out the wealthy Fanaticks to the Magistrate as ungovernable Creatures; mark forth an hundred *Systematical-Rat-Paschin-Shop-Divines* for the publick vengeance; laugh at the calamities

calamities of the City when in ashes; interdict and embargue all Traffick till the Ceremonies be complyed with; and smile at *some that would be thought wonderfully grave and solemn States-men, who labour with mighty projects of Trade and Manufacture, while those things which you your self allow to be perhaps of no great use to the Common wealth, are not submitted to.* You tell a man that if *he has not a good Conscience, yet he has a brazen wall*; That *there is little difference betwixt a soft head and a Tender Conscience*; That *weakness of Conscience alwayes proceeds in some measure from want of Wit*; therefore that men should actively obey at all adventures, because *they have the Publick wisdom to warrant them and their own Folly to excuse them*; You call the Scrupulous Dissenters so many *Old Boyes*, and would *have them lash'd out of their peevishness.* But why do I reproach you with these things which I am perswaded, nay certain, that you take for an honour? I oblige you by the very repetition, and you clap and crow at the Wit and Malice

Malice of your expreſſions. So ſome men find a ſecond entertainment in the ſavoryneſs of their own Belches. Therefore I will not further gratifie you herein or nauſeate the Reader: your whole Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Politie* having been Writ not with a Pen but a Stilletto, and with intention ſo un-Theological, that the Writer might not unjuſtly be eyed upon the Statute for ſtabbing. Methinks I diſcern now what ſecret impulſe directed you in your learned Excercitations concerning *Tintinnabulum* and *Clangor*; though you knew it not, but your Bell like that in *Spain*, which forebodes no good, tinkled of its own accord, and rung it ſelf backward. You are indeed a meer *Tintinnabulum* your ſelf, and, if with your leave I may transfer the expreſſion, though *you ſpoke with the tongues of men and Angels, not having charity you are become as ſounding Braſs, or a tinkling Cymbal.* But whereas you are of a dimenſion ſmall enough to hang in the Ear of an Hobby-horſe, yet you raiſe a noiſe and *Clangor* like the

the *Stentoro-Phonick*; ſoun'ing the Trumpet of War, and ringing the *Tocſain* of Perſecution. Inſomuch, that, not content to have Preſs'd and Muſter'd up all the Princes of Chriſtendom in your Service, you raiſe too the Eccleſiaſtical *Militia*, and the Train-bands of the Church in your quarrel. *When mens Conſciences*, you ſay, *are ſo ſqueamiſh or ſo humerſome, as that they will riſe againſt the Cuſtoms and Injunctions of the Church they live in* She Muſt *ſcourge them into order, and chaſtiſe them, not ſo much for their fond perverſeneſs as for their troubleſome peeviſhneſs* You will teach her to be a very Shrew if ſhe will take your counſel. Was it not enough that *He muſt* and *They muſt*, but *She Muſt* too? Suppoſe ſhe has not a mind, and that She will not ſuffer you to wear the Britches. You could have ſaid no more to her had She been your *Comfor able Importance*. Really, if you be ſo maſterful in the Church, I doubt you will learn to play reaks at home. But if She find her ſelf not well or not well uſed, I would adviſe her to appeal

peal to *Julian*: for he made a Law that Women Married should have liberty to divorce themselves from their Husbands.

I have thus far instanced that though you are not so great a Conjurer as *Julian*, yet it is not your fault if you have not been as severe a Persecutor. I come now to your sixth and last Play of *Push pin Divinity*. For, as in all other things, so in this too you tread on Mr. *Bayes* his heels; *who, whereas every one makes five Acts to one Play, what does He he, but make five Plays to one Plot; by which means the Auditors have every day a new thing, and then upon Saturday to make a close all; for he ever begins upon a* Monday) *he makes you up a sixth Play that sums up the whole matter to them and all that for fear they should have forgot it.* So do you here recapitulate all your former profaneness, with some additions, pretending to represent the Nonconformists Divinity. The Expressions are your own, *whether Conversion be performed in an instant, or whether it be divided into several Acts and Scenes.* Reh. Com. p. 33.

As

As first the Work of Vocation is the Prologue. Secondly, this Vocation infuseth faith, only say some, but Faith and Repentance say others, and then, Thirdly, this Faith must be Acted, so that it seems believers may have Faith before they act it, i. e. they may believe before they believe. Fourthly, by this Act we apprehend Christs person, and by this apprehension we are united to him. Fifthly, from this Union proceed the Benefits, first of Justification, then of Sanctification, &c. These are I perceive what you call *the Scholastick nothings of Faith and Justification.* You understand nothing but the Union of Benefices: these other things you laugh at as so many, ten real differences in the same thing. And yet, if one would call over the Muster-role of your self, he should find near as many differences; and you would have been sory that any of them should be omitted; Fellow of the Royal Society; Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain to my Lord Archbishop, Parson of *Ickham*, Parson of *Chartham*, Prebend of *Canterbury*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, &c. Yet methinks,

thinks, if you be ſo delicate and ſcrupulous in a Tautology of Religion as you pretend this to be, you ought to be eaſed in this Tautology of Livings and Dignities. Had you been well catechized in Biſhop *Uſher's Body of Divinity*, or, becauſe you will ſlight him as a *Syſtematical* Biſhop, would you but once read Mr. *Hooker's* Life, p. 17. or his Sermon of Juſtification, p. 520. you might for his ſake, if not for the Apoſtles, ſpeak at leaſt, if not think, more reverently concerning theſe Doctrines or Speculation. Then you go on, *whether the word and Sacrament have only a Moral operation in the Converſion of a Sinner, as a man draws an Horſe to him by the ſight of Provender, or a Hog after him by the rattling of beans*, and ſo on till you come to, *Bleſſed Apoſtle, ſhouldſt thou but make a viſit to the Chriſtian World, how wouldſt thou ſtand aghaſt to ſee ſuch a vaſt body of Modern Orthodox Faith framed out of thy writings*, &c. *How would it recover to thy memory all that gibberiſh in which thou wert ſo idely buſie while thou ſateſt at the feet of Rabbi* Gamaliel? How came

came Saint *Paul* and you ſo well acquainted? I doubt you are not in a fit pickle to ſpeak with him and if he ſaw what you write, it would recover to his memory his fighting with beaſts at *Epheſus*. What do you tell him of *Gamaliel*? 'tis a wonder you tell him not too, that *much Learning has made him mad*. Bleſſed Mr. *Bayes*, that were brought up at the feet of *Elizabeth Hampton*, ſhould ſhe but make a viſit to *Holywell*, and read thoſe ſcandalous Volumes that you have written and publiſhed, ſhe would go near, although ſhe were bed rid, to kick you: did ſhe but ſee that ſo *precious* a young man, of her own Education, ſhould in this manner ſtir up perſecution, trample under foot the Graces of Gods Spirit, cry down the
Hier. p. 95. to p. 103. obſervation of the Lords Day, vilifie and mock the *Engliſh* Bible; *as not in every particular the Word of God, nor in any one thing the Words of the Prophets, nor of* Chriſt *nor the Apoſtles*; *as a Book in ſome places erroneous, in ſome ſcarce ſenſe, and of dangerous conſequences*, &c. that you ſhould lead men off
Hier. p. 104. & 105. to p. 188.

from

from searching the Scriptures, dispute against the work of Preaching, and sum up the whole duty of Man (which an excellent though unknown Writer of our Church has done at another kind of rate,) in six Burlesque lines of Rhime-doggrel: *Hist.* from p. 262. to p. 272.

By the Liturgy daily pray,
So pray and praise God every day;
The Apostles Creed believe also,
Do as you would be done unto;
Receive the Sacrament as well as you can:
This is the Whole Duty of Man.

And maintain that this Catch *is to be preferr'd before all the Sermons that have been preach'd for this six and thirty years by the Non conformists*, did she but see these very passages here, and how, under colour of some particular Author that does not please you, you run down and baffle that serious business of Regeneration, Justification, Sanctification, Election, Vocation, Adoption, which the Apostle *Paul* hath, besides others, with so much labour illustrated and distinguish'd; and did *Repr.* p. 58.

ſhe but perceive that you have done all this and worſe, only *as a Horſe* to gain *Provender*, or *like a Hog*, to procure your ſelf *Beans*, I dare ſay the good old Woman (although ſhe was not ſtrait handed to her ability) would grudge all the Oat-meal that you ſpent her in Grewel, and wiſh the Skillet had boyled over.

But for *your deſiring for the preſent, though you could be very large upon this Subject, that thoſe who would be further ſatisfied in the Myſterie, would repair to* Pinne-makers-Hall, *every* Tueſday *about ten a clock in the forenoon*; it is not the firſt Conventicle in your life-time that you have invited men to, though I ſuppoſe this now was only meant as a better direction to Informers: but in return to the Wit of it, this being one of your moſt happy rencounters, you ſhould have conſider'd that the beſt part of your own *Puſh-pin Divinity* was fetch'd as far as from *Aberford*, a Town in *Yorkſhire* which ſubſiſts wholly on that Trade, and from whence you have furniſh'd your ſelf with Pins in abundance to ſet up with.

Thus

Thus at last, as you mock at men for *passing through so many Stages of Regeneration*, I have clamber'd as well as I could over these six Stages of your Theology. And I cannot but upon reflexion wonder that so good a Cause as that of Conformity could not be managed by better Doctrine and Argument. But certainly if any thing more material could have fain within the circuit of humane reason, or could that have been fitted up with a better stile or more polish'd language, we could not have failed of it. For you see it seems the last Resort of Theological Understanding, and a man deservedly chosen out of the whole Body of the Clergy for this glorious enterprize. A man that, while I am writing these lines, are proclaim'd, even under Doctor *Tomkins* his *Imprimatur*, by another Mascarade-Divine, to be *the Wonder of this Age*, and so you will be of the future. Give me leave therefore, Mr. *Bayes*, to sit in the Pit and clap my hands among the Herd of your humble Admirers.

Free and Impartial Enquiry, &c. P. 33.

I have thus far made good my former charge against you, and submitted partly to make my self the Defendant out of my Service to the Readers, and Candor towards you, but henceforward I shall take my liberty. And now, when I look over the rest of your Book, it makes me very good sport to see you play more tricks then a Dancing Bear for the recreation of the Spectators. But you were afraid you should want Company, and therefore, instead of delivering Bills about, or being usher'd through the streets by the Bear-ward and his Musick with the usual Ceremony, you have Printed a Preface to the Reader even before my *Reproof*, *You have no other civility to request of the Reader, then only to desire him, that if he shall think what you have written worth his perusal, to read it over with an unprejudiced mind, and an ordinary attention.* Ay, pray come in, pray come in Gentlemen. You shall have the rarest sport that ever was seen. Every man for his Five shillings, and welcom. Whether or no a man can think it worth his perusal before he

he has read it over, it had been more seasonable to advise men to an ordinary frugality, and an unprejudiced Pocket. The remainder of my business here with you is only to pick up and down your Flowers of the Bear-Garden. But how to begin with you or where to end is unsearchable: for indeed there was never such a Book written, except those of your other *Ayes*, of which 'tis excellently said; *Reh. Com. Epilogue.*

If it be true that Monstrous Births presage
The following mischiefs that afflict the Age,
And sad disasters to the State proclaim;
Playes without Head or Tail may do the same.

The Empire of Atoms is more in order and Chance it self has a better method Therefore I shall be obliged to write too at adventure and sit by you, scumming off whatsoever comes uppermost, as it rises

You had deliberately discours'd from *p.* 47. to *p.* 54. of your *Ecclesiastical Politie*, to which I refer, against all Trade and Traffick in opposition to Non-conformity; and that, while it was not rectified, *to erect and incourage trading Combinations was only to build so many nests of Faction and Sedition*; and you had reckon'd that the Non-conformists swarmed *most in great Cities and Corporations*; you had instructed men how Christ *whipp'd the Tradesmen out of the Temple*. Your whole book was an Haloo to Princes and all mankind to fall upon Tender Consciences with the severest rigour, and hereupon I said *'twas some sign of the Non-conformists peaceable temper that you were not Deified*, and well I might say so. But you hereupon are in a terrible pelt that I have animated the Rabble against you; but *from me you fear no other weapon but a* Spanish *Fig, or some more secret* Italian *dispatch*. No, no, set your heart at rest, Mr. *Bayes*, the very rabble are too judicious to meddle with you; and you need not apprehend or be jealous of any

Repr. p. 82. & p. 110.

my unleſs it be the *Cæcilian* Figs, or thoſe others which were uſed at the firſt inſtitution of the ceremony of *il Fico*, which your obſequiouſneſs would have digeſted, from what place ſoever you had ſuck'd 'm.

There was another fear upon you, leſt, having been ſo liberal to the Prince in Eccleſiaſtical matters, the Church ſhould ſue you for Dilapidations of its Power; wherein you have done juſt nothing, unleſs you had retracted the very words and things which I have juſtified upon you, and by one word of confeſſion you might have ſaved your ſelf and the Reader all this labour. But your proud heart would not come down. But *the Prieſtly and the Imperial Power*, you now ſay, *are both Supream in their ſeveral kinds.* The Prieſtly *is in its kind Supream, Univerſal, and Uncentroulable. Our Saviour deputed the Apoſtolical order or ſucceſſion of Apoſtles* (in which you have ſome Intereſt) *to ſuper-intend the Affaires of the Holy Catholick Church.* Theſe *may require obedience to their Conſtitutions, under pain of the*

Repr. from p. 164. to p. 180.

p. 178.

p. 176.

p. 167.

p. 168. *Divine displeasure, and the lash of the Apostolical Rod.* I question it; if you will say *Christs* constitutions you say right, but yours are *Et cætera* Constitutions. *When the exterminating sentence is passed upon the Offenders, it smites like the Sword of an Angel, &c. It cuts a man off from all the advantages of the Communion of Saints, and of our Saviours Incarnation: and that is a Capital Execution.* Is it so? But at the Rates that our Excommunications are managed, and upon consideration for what matters they are inflicted, I doubt, and by what sort of persons they are issued, that there will be every day fewer men of your opinion. And many will think, if it be but an affair of *the Day of Judgment*, that the Nonconformists may abide the Tryal. But these discourses of yours, Mr. *Bayes*, have been the occasion that I have read several books over, which otherwise I should never have thought of. And wondring with my self how it was possible that such a man as you should ever come to be intrusted with the Keys, I met, in studying the point only

only as to your own particular, with some shrewd passages out of Archbishop *Cranmer*, subscribed by his own hand. *In the Admission of Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and other Priests, there are divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for good order and seemly fashion: for if they were committed without such Ceremonies, they were nevertheless truly committed. There is no more promise of God, that Grace is given in committing the Ecclesiastical Office, then it is in committing the Civil. In the Apostles time there was no appointing of Ministers, but only the uniform consent of Christian multitudes among themselves to follow the advice of such as God had most indued with the Spirit of Wisdom and Counsel. And when any were appointed or sent by the Apostles or others, the people did accept them, not for any Supremacy, impery, or dominion, that the Apostles had over them, but as good people ready to obey the advice of good Counsellours. The Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were not two things, but one and the same Office in the begin-*

ing

ing of Christs *Religion. Princes and Governours may make a Priest by the Scriptures, and that by the Authority of God committed to them, and so may the people also by their election. In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a Bishop or a Priest needeth no Consecration by Scripture; for election or appointing thereto is sufficient. It is not against Gods Law, but contrary, they ought indeed so to do; and there be Histories that witnesseth that some Christian Princes and other Lay-men unconsecrate have done the same. They that be no Priests may Excommunicate also, if the Law allow thereunto.* This from so excellent a Person, a most worthy Prelate, and most glorious Martyr, with other things of the like nature, from Authorities to you undeniable, have brought some odde thoughts into my head how you came to be a Clergyman, or what kind of Mungrel creature you are: which was the reason I told you, that you for your part ought to have stood fast to your Maxime, that the Magistrate may exercise the Priesthood in his own person; though

though you have thought fit again in this Book to disown it. And then withall, reflecting as to your particular, who do so studiously oblige the Clergy by qualifying them for Political and secular imployments, although there be many Constitutions (and I thought them Priviledges) against it; I begin to be of your mind, and that you are very capable of them great or small: and I acknowledge your humility, who being of so eminent parts, have not disdain'd, nevertheless at first to exercise the Office of the Scavinger: In good time you may make a further progress. *Repr.* p. 23. & 22. & from p. 164. to p. 180.

You are offended at me for using you with so much familiarity, for you perceive that we are so *intimately acquainted, as if we had either rob'd Orchards or Lamp'ond the Court together.* You best know what you are good at, but I have had so little Society with you, except in your Books, that my ignorance may be excusable. But I suppose you spoke figuratively, and by *robbing of Orchards* you understood *Baldwins-Garden*; and by *Lampooning* *Repr.* p. 106.

the

the Court, you meant *three-Crane-Court*; and you might have inlarged with *Bonds-Stables* and the *Pall-mall*, for I perceive you have had some conversation there which you would count it uncivil to commemorate, but neither do I remember that I was ever there in your Company.

In the same page you accuse me *with comparing his Majesty to a mad Horse, kicking and flinging most terribly.* 'Tis unkindly done of you, to say no worse: and to leave the Reader better possess'd against me, you quote not the place. The thing is below any answer, but to refer to the 110*th.* page of my former Book being *Horaces* of *Augustus*.

Rep. p. 112. I cannot omit, lest some should take it for an expression of mine, what follows, for you seem to have couch'd it so on purpose. *This is too like the stubbornness of your Shrew, that when she was duck'd over head and ears, stretched up the Symbols, or, as your Pin-divines would have it, the Sacraments of Lowsiness and Cuckoldry.* I have heard of some that have impoy-

soned

ſoned with the Sacrament, of another Emperour that had his Sirname from the Font, *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, having marr'd it at his Baptiſme, as did alſo *Wenceſlaus*; of Witches that have imployed the *Hoſtia* in their Sorceries; and of Hereticks who have adminiſtred the Sacrament in the impureſt Elements: but I never read before of a Divine that had to ſuch height improved the Invention. But, for the Sacrament of Lowſineſs I have formerly reckoned with you; for the Sacrament of Cuckoldry caſt up your your own accounts. I cannot imagine where you took the riſe too of this jump of Wit, unleſs either from a Secular; *Andronicus Comnenus*, who furniſhed an Horn-Gallery with a ſeveral Stags head for every mans Wife he had to doo with: or from an Eccleſiaſtick; who was in former times like you a Penner of Declarations, and fill'd a whole Trunk with the ſingle ſhooes of Women, ſuch was his humour, with whom he had the ſame occaſion; this man having choſen the meaſure of the Wives Foot, the other

of

of the Husbands Head, to remain as the Trophies of their Lasciviousness. This is I know only a *Julianisme*, and you think, and are glad of the occasion, that as oft as you have to do with the Non conformists, you have a liberty to speak prophanely, like those that will on purpose, curse and swear the rather in Civil Company. For I suppose you make thus bold with the Sacraments, because I mention'd an argument not very weak on their part, that to institute and impose Ceremonies, was to make so many new Sacraments; forasmuch as our Church declares, *that they serve not only for decent order and Godly discipline, but they are apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some special and notable significancy whereby they may be edified.* And further our Church defines a Sacrament *an outward visible Sign of an inward spiritual grace.* And I added, *Our Author besides makes them by his Principle, when commanded, a new part of the Divine Law.* But to this I do not find that in a very large and noisome

noiſome diſcourſe you give any tole- *Repr.* from
rable anſwer, but this jeer of *Sacra-* 180. to
ments of Lowſineſs and Cuckoldry, as in 204.
your other book, that they cry *Sacra-*
ments Sacraments, as if you had been
ſwearing a *Dutch* Oath; ſave that you
inſiſt upon the old Anſwer ſtill, that
Divine Inſtitution is the only thing ne- p. 186.
ceſſary to the Nature and Office of a
Sacrament. Whereas I think with ſub-
miſſion, that by the ſame argument,
there can be no Idolatry in the
World. For Idolatry is either wor-
ſhipping a Falſe God; or elſe the
worſhipping of a true God after a falſe
manner. Now may you not as well
ſay, that becauſe there is but one true
God, therefore men cannot adore a
falſe one; becauſe there is but one
true worſhip, men cannot practiſe ſu-
perſtition; as becauſe there are but
two true Sacraments men cannot de-
viſe new ones? And though the
Church allows them not for Sacra-
ments, You may remember the caſe
of *Julians* Soldiers at the burning
of Incenſe. It ſeems to me much
the ſame, as if, becauſe God made

man

man upright, it were not possible for him to seek out many inventions. But enough of this, only I will furnish them with one argument more, though none of the weightiest, out of the *Rationale* of the *Common Prayer*, which you ought not to have been ignorant of, the Bishop instructing us, that the Collects are by some of the Ancients called *Sacramenta*, *either because their chief use was at the Communion, or because they were uttered* per Sacerdotem. At this rate there would indeed be *Sacraments Sacraments*; I might pretend to be a shred of a Sacrament; the whole Liturgy would be so many Sacraments; nay your Reproof might bustle to be a Sacrament, as being uttered too *per Sacerdotem*.

Ref. p. 63.

In many places of your Book, and sure you think it a lucky hit, you would fix upon me the old *Martin Mar-Prelate* (in one page you do it four times) Let me only desire you as often to remember *Martin Parker*, and your relation to him; for to my knowledge, if you do not make *Ballads to*

Rep. p. 813.

the

the Disgrace of Religion, you are a Singer of such Ballads, and if you be curious I will at a more convenient time Rehearse them to you.

You had said our Saviour in chasing the Sellers out of the Temple (Tradesmen you call them) had *put on, out of an hot fit of Zeal, a seeming fury and transport of Passion, and that he took upon him in that Action the Person and Priviledge of a* Jewish *Zelote*. This I found fault with in my former book, and with good reason, if you would but consider that you say, *a well-meaning Zelote is the worst of all Villains*. You still defend it here by the examples of *Phinees* and *Elias*; and to have been *a Power or at least a license for private persons to execute by publick authority notorious malefactors, upon the place, without form and process of Law*. This Priviledge is very far fetch'd, and long discontinued, if from the time of *Phinees* and *Elias* until our Saviour there were no new Claim enter'd. But really it seems to me, by this and some other passages, that you do not attribute much belief to the miracles of our Saviour, among

Pref. E. P. p. 7. and Def. p. 152.

Reh. Tr. P. 324.

Rep. p. 134.

which perhaps this was one of the most remarkable. For, to omit other Authors, *Grotius* who ought to be of as much value with you as all the rest put together, interprets the Text thus: *Regni sui in hominum animes Specimen aliquod Christus dederat Asinorum accitu. Majus nunc & maxime admirabile edit in purganda aede paterna, nulla ni externa sola Divina virtute retentabilis.* Our Saviour, saith he, *had given an experiment of his Kingdom over the minds of men by his sending for the Asses. He gives now a greater and most admirable proof thereof by this cleansing of his Fathers house, which he did by the Majesty of his Divine Power, not of any external violence.*

I had quoted upon occasion Mr. *Hales* his Book of Schism, And Doctor *Stillingfleet* (who though yet living, deserves the honour to be already cited for good Authority) does the same, as I find since, stiling him *as learned and judicious a Divine as most our Nation hath bred, in his excellent though little Tract of Schisme*; and transcribes the same Passages. You hereupon laugh at me, for having

Iren. p. 120.

Rep. p. 143

said

ſaid in his commendation that he was a man *who had clear'd himſelf from froath and groons.* Had I been the Author of that expreſſion, it was not at all ridiculous, but is very proper and ſignificant, and founded upon a Latine claſſical ſaying. But the beſt ſport is 'tis Mr. *Hales* his own words in that ſame book; and though Mr. *Hooker* were *ſo long winded an Author* that you never could read him, methinks you might have had the patience upon this occaſion to have peruſed Mr. *Hales* his book of eight pages. But to amend the matter you ſay, *the loftieſt thing that can be ſaid of ſo great a man as Mr.* Hales *is, that he was neither a Mad-man nor a Fanatick.* I yield, Mr. *Bayes*, and inſtead of admiring *that Majeſty and Beauty which ſits upon the Forehead of Maſculine Truth and generous Honeſty*, I will henceforward admire only the Maiden'ly modeſty and roſial bluſhes that bloom on your Cheeks and inhabit your Forehead. But this will not ſuffice: Mr. *Hales* you ſay too was a *Socinian.* I ſee you did not ſerve your Fanatick Prenticeſhip in vain. No

man can tell you truth but he must presently be a *Socinian*. You have spent much paper in your *Defence*, to decipher the Fanatick deportment toward all Adversaries: but, whether, it be theirs or no, I am sure you have learnt it to the height. *He has drop'd*, you say, *some loose passages in that Treatise, for which himself was then censured and the Book is still, though the Author be pardon'd, because as he did not first publish it, so he afterward recanted it.* Most judicially said, and in the language of the Tribunal. But who told you this fine Story? Doctor *Heylin* I warrant you; for as for your self it appears you never read him. But if Mr. *Hales* of Schisme be too loose for you, will you be pleas'd to admit my Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterburies* authority; that the Schisme is alwayes the Crime of those who give the occasion. But if neither Mr. *Hales*, nor the late Lord Arch-bishop may be trusted in the matter, pray, Sir, inquire in the Shops for *Copernicus of Schisme*, if there be any such Treatise, for that Author would have

have been the moſt proper to have ſalved the *Phænomena* either way.

You take occaſion here and in very many other places of your book, to tax me partly upon Biſhop *Bramhall*'s account (and more of my Lord Arch-biſhop *Laud*, *Hugo Grotius*, and others) as if I had traduced him under a ſeeming commendation. To this once for all. Had it not been for your Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall* (which I will never pardon, becauſe it drew me out into publick to be a Writer) I had never medled with him. But no man will fare the better or gain reputation by keeping you company: whereas you intrude your ſelf upon men of the beſt authority, by their names to render your ſelf conſiderable. In that Preface you ſtuff'd out the Biſhop with ſuch Bombaſt, you rung ſuch an inceſſant peal of *In Laudem* Thomæ *Bum, Bum, Bum, fine fine*, that it would have made an Horſe break his Halter. But now that I have wrought ſo good an effect, as to reſcue him in ſome ſort from you, and that you have ſince (which looks *Rep.* p. 140.

prettily) Printed your *Preface* without his Book, I will not (though I have so fresh a temptation by your censure of Mr. *Hales*) further molest his memory, but let his life and death be buried together. And if I have in some historical passages writ too distinctly, I cannot ascribe whatsoever errour of that kind I may have committed, to any other cause then the reading of ill Books, which have perhaps vitiated my stile as well as others. For ever since you were to be sold at *Jo. Shirley's*, *Sam Thompson's*, *Rich. Davis's*, *J. Martin's*, *James Collins's*, *Henry Hall's*, you have so perpetually pester'd the Press with your own Books, and obstructed better Authors, that men have scarce had any thing else to read, and so your virulence has corrupted the Age you live in. For as I instanced to you in my former Book, your malignant remark even upon Bishop *Bramhall*, that, *as far as the prejudice of the Age would permit him, he was an acute Philosopher*; I think it now pertinent to shew in some few examples more how civil you are

to

to your friends, and of consequence how generous to your Adversaries. First, for friend *Galen*. *I confess that* Galen *gave a kind of* Specimen *in his book* de usu Partium, *which though it is indeed a famous work, yet it is not so Divine as to be writ by Enthasiasme; but always seem'd to me such a thing as might either be very much amended, or much improved: which I do not say that I may extenuate* Galen's *commendation.* No, I know you don't, just as *you did not publish your* Preface *to impair* Mr. H's. *esteem in the least, but to correct his scribling humour, and for a warning to the Ret-Divines and to shew how the Bishop baffled him without condescending to his* Systematical *and* Pushpin *Divinity.* Then Friend *Harvy. In whatsoever manner therefore Generation is performed, whether the Man do only,* &c. (*which excellent Doctor* Harvy *guesses at, but not so ingeniously as he is wont.*) And yet you were not acquainted with your *Comfortable Importance.* Who next? *I wonder how* Mercurius Trismegistus *cou'd Cousen those great Counsellors of Criti-*

Vind. p. 77.

Vind. p. 105.

Vind. 185.

ciſme, Lipſius, *the* Scaligers, *&c. and*
Tent. 188. *I cannot but admire that* Lipſius, Scaliger, Voſſius, *nay and* Grotius *too, ſo many clear-ſighted men ſhould underſtand the thing wrong, as if they did it on ſet*
Tent. 165. *purpoſe.* See more *our Countreymen* Santord *or* Parker, *in a moſt learned book of Chriſts deſcending into Hell, which begun by* Santord, Parker *finiſhed, firſt attempted to accommodate, wrong and raſhly, the Theological Hiſtory of the Gentiles to the Sacred Hiſtory: but whoever was the firſt Author, the venerable Names of* Scaliger, Selden, Bochart, Voſſius, *ay and* Grotius *again, brought it in reputation: ſo that every man that affects to be accounted a prime Philologer, ſets up forthwith to accommodate of any faſhion the* Greek *matters to the* Hebrew; *the Scabbado of which affectation does ſo break out every day*, &c. but they got the Itch it ſeems firſt of *Grotius*, and thoſe other Scoundrels. 'Tis to be conſider'd Mr. *Bayes*, that you are *the wonder of this Age*, ſo they muſt all ſubſcribe to you, and carry your books after you. On: *I do not queſtion but that great and*

and honorable Perſon Picus Mirandula *was a perſon of ſtupendious parts and learning: yet I am ſure that thoſe notions wherewith he made the greateſt noiſe in the world, were but grand and pompous futilities* For the School-Doctors you abuſe them at every turn; and I could way with it better but for one reaſon, which is, that you ſay in the fifth Leaf of your *Preface*: It *was never any part of the Church of* England's *deſign to exchange the old School-Doctors for* Calvinian *Syſtemes and Syntagmes*; ſo that it is not ſo handſomly ſaid of 'm therefore that *they are full of ſuch ſtuff as makes fools ſtare, and wiſe men laugh.* But whereas I had hereupon ſaid p. 213. that you had owned the School-men for Authors of the Church of *England*'s Divinity, you formally deny it, inſulting with all your natural and acquired rudeneſs. It is not worth the Readers trouble to intereſs him in ſuch a fooliſh brabble; but if any one pleaſe to take the pains to inſpect your book again, as I have done and quoted the leaf on this occaſion, the moſt he can ſay will be that you

c. Pl. p. 100.

c. Pl. Pb. p. 68. and p. 93. & Repr. p. 201.

Rep. p. 100. & 201.

you have Cheated me; but if you have done it so cunningly that it cannot be made out evidently, I am content to go by the loss. Yet for a collateral proof, how far to rely either upon your good Faith or good Memory in what you your self write, let him take one instance where you quote me in my page 120. *Thus when you cite for your own convenience that passage, that Rebellion is as the Sin of witch craft you are pleased to add too; that this Text will scarce admit my interpretation; and yet you know no more what my interpretation would be then you do what Witchcraft and Rebellion are.* You might have done me the favour instead of saying, *I cite it for mine own convenience*, to have begun with my own words; *I will allow him that Rebellion is as the Sin of witch-craft.* But that candor is not to be expected: Yet to show you that I know better what you write, and what your Interpretation would be then you do your self, pray read in your *Preface to Bishop* Bramhall, 32 leaf: where you say; *the Clergy of* England *are as strongly principled*

Rep. p. 124.

pled against the hateful Sin of Rebellion as against Witchcraft or Idolatry. Then see the Text 1 *Sam.* 15. 25. *For Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft and Stubbornness is as iniquity and Idolatry.* Now, Mr. *Bayes*, whether did I not at least guess shrowdly at your Interpretation? But you are excusable forasmuch as you confess'd in that *Preface*, both at beginning and end, *that you knew not what it would prove, nor had leisure nor patience to examine whether it were Idle or not Idle.* Proceed, *I might have added to them the late grand Dogmatical Master of Modern Orthodoxy, whose rude Dogmatizing has occasion'd as many controversies in the Christian Church as ever* Manes *and* Valentinus *did.* Had you told his name it had been fairer; but by the Project of that whole book it seems to be *Calvine.* So, Mr. *Bayes*, he is sped: You have done his work that he shall never lift up his head again. Yet; Lucian *is every where so abusive and bitter in his Satyres against all sorts of Philosophers, that, if his mouth be any slander, they must have been a Pack of the*

C. Pl. Ph. p. 93.

C. Pl. Ph. p. 6.

the vileſt Villains that ever breathed.

C. Pl. Ph. p. 20. & 19. Nevertheleſs you ſay, *ſome have ſlander'd* Plato *himſelf together with* Socrates *as guilty of that unnatural ſin of the luſtful* Sodomites; *which calumny had never gain'd any credit with us, had it not been reported by ſome of the ancient Fathers; and yet it is too notorious to diſſemble, that thoſe Fathers were not only very careleſs in their relations concerning them, being apparently guilty of innumerable faults of memory, but alſo in many inſtances highly diſingenious; Inſomuch that I find no Proſe-Writer agree ſo much with their reports as* Lucian, *whoſe main deſign it was to abuſe every thing that was grave and ſober.* Well ſpoke for your Clients, Mr. *Bayes*; ay, and for your ſelf too. For, *while you*, forſooth, *take only that*

C. Pl. Ph. p. 18. *moſt delightful proſpect to behold others ſcrambling and aſpiring to thoſe things which you contemn and trample upon,*

C. Pl. Ph. p. 16. *and while your palate is not ſurfeited and cloy'd with the ſame repeated reliſhes;* (for you were but newly come from your Grewel) *nor your Eye quite weary of beholding the ſame repeated objects,*

yet

you could have been highly contented upon the account of a Philoſophick curioſity) to leave this preſent Theater, that you might enter upon the next for the delight of being entertain'd with a new Scene of things; yet you handled it ſo, that by *p.* 242. you were *upon the very point of your departure to* London. Go on and proſper. But; *had the priſtine learning of* Egypt *been the ſame it was in later ages, it had been as great a diſparagement to* Moſes, *as 'tis now juſtly reputed a commendation, that he was accompliſhed in all the* Egyptian *learning, and had amounted only to this, that he was a vain, trifling, ſuperſtitious fellow.* Why ſo? You put it, Mr. *Bayes*, too hard upon *Moſes*. For neither did you intend it as a diſparagement to Biſhop *Bramhall*, that *as far as the prejudice of the Age would permit him, he was an acute Philoſopher.* Still: It *is not my deſign by repreſenting thoſe Primitive Sages as fools and dunces, to rob them of that eſteem and veneration with which they have been deſervedly honoured in all ſucceeding ages.* That is more gentle where you ſay,

C. Pl. Ph. p. 242.
C. Pl. Ph. p. 101.
C. Pl. Ph. p. 102.

you

you might give account too of the mea-abilities of Orpheus *and* Pythagoras *but that you delight not to speak too hardly of any Virtuoso's Ashes.* But to conclude, whether do you handle our Saviour himself more softly? *And then if we look into our Saviours life, the unparallel'd civility and obligingness of his Deportment seems to be almost as high an Evidence of the truth and Divinity of his Doctrine as his unparallel'd miracles were. For it is altogether unimaginable that so sweet-natur'd a person should be so base and profligate an Impostor, as he must have been if he had been one.* And yet your self must, and do, avow, that he was not so sweet-natur'd to the Scribes and Pharisees, *Mat.* 23.15. *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites, for ye compass Sea and Land to make one Proselyte, and when he is made, you make him twofold more the child of Hell then your selves,* &c. and so in many other places. You know too that he was once in a very *hot Fit of zeal, and a seeming Fury and Transport of Passion* You say too, that, *whereas the gentle and sweet natur'd* St. John

C. Pl. Ph. P. 25.

was

as his darling Disciple, you often find him checking Peter's *rude and unmanerly zeal.*

But by the way; where is it that you find it so often? I cannot find it more then once, which was when he rebuked him for cutting off *Malchus* his ear: neither is he there so severe upon him as you are to tax him of *rudeness and unmannerliness.* But once is not often. You, I doubt, trusted herein too much to your memory, and thought he had check'd his zeal four times, because the same thing is related by all the four Evangelists. I find indeed that our Saviour, *John* 22. check'd *Peter* for inquiring what should be of *John*; and ask'd him *what is that to thee?* But here he reproved not his zeal but his curiosity. And at another time, *Mat.* 14. 31. when *Peter*, walking on the water began to sink, he blamed his want of Faith. And 16 *Mat.* 23. Our Saviour said to him, *get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men.* But this

this was not neither becauſe of *Peter's* zeal, but the unſeaſonable care he had of our Saviours preſervation. And I do not at preſent remember that he was check'd oftner upon whatſoever occaſion. This miſtake ariſes from reading of *Plutarch*, when you ſhould be at your Bible and Devotions: and *the raviſting delight you take in labouring your periods, and framing your own thoughts and conceptions into words* makes you forget the Text of Scripture. You were ſure, and had ſome *Idea* remaining, that ſome-body was check'd; and ſo it were for zeal (which was to your preſent purpoſe) it was not ſo much matter with you on whom it lighted. Whereas indeed I doubt it was that very *John* whom you oppoſe to *Peter*. For, *Luke* 9. 54. he becauſe a Village of the *Samaritans* would not entertain our Saviour would preſently have *commanded fire from Heaven to conſume them, as did Elias* (whom too you quoted for one of your *Zelotes*.) And him indeed our Saviour ſeverely rebuked for that zeal, telling him, *he knew not what manner*

manner of Spirit he was of. And to this I might add *Matth.* 10. 35. And *Luke* 20. 20. Where the Mother of *Zebedees* Children, and the Sons *James* and this *John* would first have covenanted with our Saviour, that he should grant them whatsoever they desired, and then made it the request of their Family, *that they two might sit, one at his right hand and the other at his left in his Kingdom*; for which he rebuked them, saying further, *Whosoever will be great among you shall be your Servant, and whoever will be the chief of you shall be the Servant of all.* So that indeed I doubt you have rob'd *John* to pay *Peter* with his *rudeness and unmannerliness*; and in making it *often*, you have mistook thus the number of the persons for the frequency of the time. But you may perhaps object, that this last of *John* was not a fault of zeal, but of ambition; nevertheless, because some mens zeal is only for preeminence, and thereupon they are often rude and unmannerly to their Betters, I thought it not unseasonable to put you in mind

of it on this occaſion, that you might apply it to your ſelf, and learn that being the Arch-deacon you ought inſtead of contending for Superiority over others *to be their Miniſter*. But I pray you reflect ſeriouſly upon this your miſtake, and hereafter either read the *Engliſh Bible* more carefully and *the words* (but you will not allow them to be ſo) *of our Saviour and the Apoſtles*, or elſe, like a *Traditor*, lay it by for good and all, as *a book in ſome places erroneous, in ſome places ſcarce ſenſe, and of dangerous conſequences, when every pert, bold, and conceited fellow takes upon himſelf to raiſe Doctrines and Opinions thence, contrary to the meaning of God in his holy Word, and contrary to the mind and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt*, &c.

Hist. p. 104.

Hist. p. 105.

But, to let theſe things be as they will, it is however too bold to ſay (but you durſt not adventure further) that *the Civility of our Saviours deportment was almoſt as high an evidence of the Divinity of his Doctrine, as his unparallel'd Miracles, otherwiſe he had been a baſe and proſtigate Impoſter.*

C. Pl. Ph. p. 25.

You

You ought not to put such things as these upon Cross and Pile so : for ill use may be made of it, though it should be against your intention. And really, had you writ as much of *Mahomet* as you have here done of *Christ* and *Moses*, you have put fair to be, as you have been the second Author of *Ecclesiastical Politie*, so now, of the *Tre Grandi Impostori*. So that you see I hope by this time if my stile hath differently decipher'd the same person in different circumstances, where I learnt it, but have not yet attained the height of your faculty.

You condemn me for having in my *p.* 309. mentioned the Reverend Bishop *Andrews* his form of Consecration of a Church or Chappel, which I might have done at large, and inserted something of History that depends upon it : but I did not. Neither shall I now say any thing further, but only refer you to Archbishop *Parker* p. 85. of his *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, where you may find what his judgment was in *Rep.* p. 138

this case of things of the very same nature.

I had said *p.* 166. of my book, that
Rep. p. 155. I could quote my Lord *Verulam* to your confusion: hereupon you tell me the *Quotation of my Lord* Verulam *would have been more to the purpose or the Story of Pork, which you say I know, but I say I do not know, or however if I did you might have had the manners to have told it for His Majesties sake, because he knows how to make use of it*, you think you put me hard to it. I am sorry that I must trouble the Reader with such stuff, and these mean contests *de Lana Porcina*. But this is all the Fleece a man can hope for in Sheering you. I had told you Sir, (there was not a word of His Majesty) in my *p.* 300. alluding to your Tautologies, *that all the variety of your Treat is Pork (you know the Story) but so little disguised by good Cookery, that it discovers the miserableness or rather the penury of the Host.* Now here have you brought my *p.* 166. into conjunction with my *p.* 300. that (which every man will discern) because

becauſe my Lord *Verulam* was mentioned you might make a Quibble betwixt *Pork* and *Bacon*. Nor did I ever ſee a Quibble fetch'd at greater diſtance, or more cunningly carried. But in whatſoever you undertake, you are extraordinary, as (becauſe I promis'd you before ſome inſtances in your *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, where you are informing the world concerning ſome *Sects of men made up of ſanctified Fury*, &c. *Tois gar Presbuteroiſin*, &c. which was to make a Greek Quibble forſooth, upon the Presbyterians, and of ſo many ages ago. Whereas the good old Poet never dreamed of any ſuch thing, or ſuch a Nation and the Cronology and Geography of it varies as much as in the Play of *Moſes* and *Julius Cæſar*. A third inſtance ſhall be in an Anagram you give us of *Calvin*, that is *Culina*: though it be in two Languages that underſtand not one another, and the man ſpent very little in his Kitchin, nor made proviſion for it, but all went to his Study, and yet his whole Inventory at his death

Ec. Pol. p. 150.

mounted not to above Seventy pounds *ſterling*. This may ſerve for a *Specimen* or ſcantling of your Wit, and to ſhew how well you ſpent your time at both Univerſities: *which I do not ſay by any means to diminiſh your juſt commendation*, for certainly none ever quibbled with greater *Enthuſiaſme*.

I ſhall upon this occaſion take leave to digreſs a little further concerning *Calvin* and *Geneva* to which you are every where a declared Enemy. The Town you might have ſpared, if not for his, yet for *Sales* his ſake, the Biſhop of *Geneva*; whoſe Book was thought fit to be licenſed by your Predeceſſor Doctor *Heywood*: though afterwards it was called in and burnt by Proclamation, but the Doctor was *puniſhed with Preferment*. But as to *Calvin* himſelf, it had been well that you had rather imitated the incomparable modeſty and candor of Reverend Mr. *Hooker* in all his Writings, and eſpecially in this particular, but how ſhould you imitate him whom, notwithſtanding your challenging and

defying

defying the Non-conformists with his *Ecclesiastical Politie*, it seems you had never read. *I think*, saith he, *that* Calvin *was incomparably the wisest man that ever the* French *Church did enjoy, since it enjoyed him. Divine knowledge be gather'd not by hearing or reading so much, as by teaching others. For though thousands were debtors to him as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none, but only to God the Author of that most blessed fountain the Book of life; and of the admirable dexterity of Wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guids.* And I find the Reverend Bishop of *Durham*, Doctor *Morton* in his little Tract *de Pace Ecclesiastica*, had no less opinion of him. In that Tract the Bishop, as also *Bishop Davenant*, *Bishop Hall*, and others do with singular Wisdom and Piety treat concerning reconciliation of Protestants among themselves: a design much more probable and better timed then that which was set up by others for the accommodating of our Church with the *Roman*. There he saith, *Consulant illi si placet* Luthe-

rum Melanchthonem Jac. Andream Brentium. *Nos* Calvinum *Noſtrum*, Petrum Martyrum & Zanchium *preferemus* (we will produce ſaith he our *Calvin*) *qui ſinguli in Eccleſia Chriſti veluti primæ magnitudinis lumina fulſerunt.* And he adds upon occaſion in the next page, *Hæc* Calvinus *tam pacati tam placide tamque indulgenter ut jam non homo ſed ipſa humanitas loqui videatur.* It were endleſs to cite the teſtimonies of all ſorts of men, not only of the Proteſtant, but of the Romiſh, perſwaſion concerning that excellent perſon: but indeed he needs no more certain commendation then that he is traduced and accuſed by you. And whereas you tax him as pragmatical and intermedling with other mens matters; what could he do otherwiſe, all the Learned men of *Europe* ſolliciting his approved Judgment in the moſt weighty occaſions. Nor therefore could he avoid that general correſpondence by Letters, of another ſtile I am ſure then your Letters are, who are therefore offended at him. Though you might have

have remember'd that there were some Letters too writ to him by Archbishop *Parker*. But the design of you and those of your Cast has been, and still it seems to continue, against all the forraign Churches: and you are but *Heylin* resuscitated, whose business it was by his scandalous Histories to blacken the whole Reformation, attributing (as Reverend Doctor *Moulin* well expresses it) and *imputing the excesses that happened by the ordinary course of humane business unto Religion*. And he did it to so good purpose, that I believe his Books have occasion'd among us the defection of more Protestants unto the *Romish* Religion, then any thing that themselves have writ in the points of Controversie. And this distance from all other of the Reformed Churches hath been and is held up by you and your party so studiously, that beside what has been writ against them with all bitterness, they have even in cases of Extremity and Necessity refused to Communicate with them. Hence it is that you say in your *Preface*; *Therefore*

fore Reader I beg thy hearty prayers and endeavours for the Peace and Prosperity of the Church of England (He had need when you do so dangerously interrupt it) *for when that is gone it will be very hard to find out another, with which, if thou art either honest or wise, thou wilt be over-forward to joyn Communion.* And why so? Truly I know not unless it be for some more peculiar and Ceremonial perfection that our Church may have attain'd to above others. And this indeed hath been alwayes magnifyed and esteem'd to that height by those of your Bran and Leaven, that even our own Kings and Bishops have all along been Characteriz'd by them well or ill, according as they promoted those matters or remitted them. As for *Henry* the *Eight,* he is a gone man, and his *Sacrilege* will never be pardon'd even in his Successors. For *Edward* the *Sixth,* that miracle of Princes, *yet his death was none of the Infelicities of the Church of* England. But might he not have lived to be wiser and better? But in the blessed Reign of Queen

Mary

Mary (as in the Preface of the *Oxford* Statutes compiled in the time of Arch-bishop *Laud*) *Potiunte rerum Maria, inter incerta vacillans Statuta viguit Academia, celebrantur studia, enit it disciplina, & optanda temporum felicitate* (if it could be had again for wishing) *Tabularum defectus resarcivit innatus Candor, & quicquid legibus decrat moribus Suppletum est.* But then upon her death there came in an iron Age. *Terras Astrea reliquit.* For *Decurrente Temporum Serie* (that is in Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* his times) *& Vitiis & Legibus pariter laboratum est*: all was quite spoyled; yet sometimes she was *Elizabeth*, and sometimes *old Elsibeth* with you, thereafter as she behaved her self in the matter of Conformity. There in her *Quinto* Eliz. *she was miserably out in her Divinity.* And then in *Decimo Tertio* She did no better when she was contented the Puritans should only subscribe the Articles of Doctrine. But at other times she was pretty tolerable. King *James* was more busie then belong'd him, when he writ a

Letter

Letter to her in behalf of the Non-conformists: but after he succeeded her in *England* he made amends. But he had a great fault nevertheless, that he was so uncivil to the *Arminians*, even to such a degree, as to stile Arminius *the Enemy of God*, Arminianisme *Heresie*, the Arminians *Heretick and Atheistical Sectaries*. For though in *England* he advanced the Episcopal Government, yet he had adhered to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, which you and your Tribe do so detest, that though a King please you never so well in matter of Conformity, yet unless he humour you too in *Arminianisme* or such devices, he cannot be assured of your good graces. And so it is too even as to the Bishops. Arch-bishop *Cranmer* is subject to many exceptions. But Arch-bishop *Parker* was *a Prelate of great worth, and no less eminent in the Churches cause.* But Arch-bishop *Grindall was a man of another Spirit, he having convers'd with* Calvin *and* Beza *abroad could not shake off their Acquaintance, or was as willing to continue it as they, when Bishop*

of

of London, *he condescended to have a* French *Church set up in the City: when of* York *he entertain'd correspondence with* Zanchy *a Divine of* Heidelberg. An hainous crime; *Nay, but when he was Arch-bishop of* Canterbury, *he not only connived at the Lectures, which were newly set up by the Puritans, but even incouraged them.* A sad man was he But then came Arch-bishop *Whitgift*, who repair'd all that had run to ruine *by the negligence and remissness of some great Bishops*, and by the zeal of the *Grendalizing* Lecturers. And yet this truly venerable Bishop could not escape censure too among you; for, though he were right in Ceremonies, yet he was wrong in substance, and gave authority to the Articles of *Lambeth*, which run point-blank against the *Arminian* Tenets. Therefore notwithstanding all his merits, he can scarce be forgiven. But Arch-bishop *Bancroft* was a man I trow without exception. But then as misfortune would have it Arch-bishop *Abbot* succeeds him, and *he was too facil and yielding in the exercise of that great Office,*

Office, and by his extraordinary remiſſ-neſs in exacting ſtrict Conformity to the preſcribed orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, he ſeemed to reſolve thoſe legal determinations to their firſt indifferency. And he brought in ſuch an habit of Non conformity, that the future reduction of thoſe tender-Conſcienced men to a long diſcontinued obedience was at the laſt interpreted an Innovation. This is out of your Doctor *Heylin*, who goes down with you for Goſpel, and is to you like meat, drink, and cloathing. All this adoe muſt be made for things that profit nothing, (ſave that to you indeed they are very profitable) and according as great Princes or eminent Prelates are more or leſs ceremonious, ſo muſt they be ranked in your Calendar. By how much a man is more a Chriſtian you account him the worſe Biſhop: and it is now grown, inſtead of the requiſites in Scripture to that ſacred Office, a ſufficient commendation to have been *an admirable Ritualiſt.*

'Tis now time to return to our Pork & *Bacon*; but becauſe you cry Pork Pork

as

as often as any Raven, I will first to stay your Stomach, give you the Story of the Pork, and the rather to satisfie another friend of mine, who did me the favour to interpret it of his Highness the Duke of *York*, when he contented himself the former year with the homely fare of the Marriners at the *Dogger-bank*. It was at an Audience of the Embassadors of the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, in the Council of *Achæa*, *Quintius*, the *Roman* General, being present. *Antiochus* his Embassadors boasted there very much of the potent Armies of their King; thundring out the hard names of *Elymæans*, *Cadusians*, *Medians*, &c. of which they consisted: whereupon *Quintius*, to take off the wonderment and terrour, replyed; (and I will give you honest *Philemon* Holland for an Interpreter) *Now in faith this is mine* Host *of* Chalcis *up and down, a friendly man I assure you and a good fellow in his house, and one that knoweth how to entertain his Guests, and make them very welcom. we went upon a time to make merry with him, and I remember*

remember it was at Mid-ſummer, when the dayes are longeſt and the Sun at the hotteſt, And as we wonder'd how, at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, he met with that plenty of Veniſon, and ſuch variety withall; the man nothing ſo vain-glorious as theſe fellows are, ſmiled pleaſantly upon us, and ſaid we were welcom to a Feaſt of good Swine and no better: But well fare a good Cook my Maſters, who by his cunning hand, what with ſeaſoning it, and what with ſerving it up with divers Sawces, has made all this fair ſhew of wild fleſh, and the ſame of ſundry ſorts. Thus, Mr. *Bayes*, have I reveal'd to you this great myſterie of Pork, of which you were ſo curious, and which tended only, as I told you, to ſhow how jejune you were, who in all your matters, and even in that of railing, whereof you are moſt copious and the beſt furniſhed, yet are forced to ſerve up to the Reader continually the cold Haſhes of plain repetitions, to ſtuff out your Books and fill your Table. I hope I have with this ſtay'd your Stomach, and if you will but expect a little, I will too

in

in convenient time bring in your *patron.*

You had, to make the Ceremonies go down better with the Non-conformists, ſaid, *that 'twas no more for the Magiſtrate to impoſe them then to determine a new ſignification of words.* For it is your great Art to make the Ceremonies at once ſtupendiouſly neceſſary and at the ſame time deſpicably little; both a Fly and a Whale,

In whoſe vaſt bulk, though ſtore of Oyle doth lye,
We find more ſhape, more beauty in a Fly.

Reh. Cam. P. 40.

This I made merry with, as of good reaſon. For it would raiſe a very great diſorder in the world to bouleverſe ſo, and overturn the ſignification of all words: for even in the name of your Function, if a man ſhould but chance to liſpe, it would make a dangerous alteration; but however to impoſe ſuch contrary ſignifications with the ſame penalties too would make wild work, and

peſter the Nation with a whole ſwarm of Informers. But in that debate, I inſtanced in *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who was ſo ſhy of unuſual words: and this you will needs have to be a notable miſtake, becauſe *Julius Cæſar* Compiled a book *de Analogia*, forgetting that *Suetonius* deſcribes at large *Auguſtus* his hereditary exquiſiteneſs in that particular. *Theſe which delighted in new words, and thoſe which affected old* (apply it to Geremonies) *are equally diſpiſed, both being alike contemptible*: inſomuch that it was reported, he diſplaced a Conſular Lieutenant for a fault of Orthography: And if Orthography in Worſhip were now as ſtrictly obſerved, perhaps your Spiritual Lieutenancy might run the ſame risk.

In vita Aug. 86. & 88.

I had chanced in my Book to ſpeak of *Hudibras*, with that eſteem which an excellent piece of Wit upon whatſoever ſubject will alwayes merit. But you hereupon fall into ſuch a Fit and Rupture of railing at me, that you have exceeded not only all the Oyſter-women and Butter-whores, but

but even your ſelf, pretending that I have done him ſome diſhonour. Should I ſtudy a ſuitable return to you I could not raiſe my ſelf into more choler then to call you a *Jewel*, a *Glaſs-drop*, a *Tintinnabulum*, words that you with ſome ſympathy delight in, and whoſe Heraldry is to be Pendant. As for you, I cannot reſtrain you of this liberty, who have wiſely taken ſafeguard in the Eccleſiaſtical Function, and, fore-ſeeing betimes what occaſion you might have, thought fit to Poſt your ſelf up in Print that *you are not Valiant*. Only I could have for your own ſake wiſhed you had not call'd me *Judas*, leſt ſo eminent a Divine as you are ſhould appear more concerned for *Huddibras* then for your Saviour. For the reſt you may pleaſe to know, that, whatever you have here ſaid to me, cannot either diminiſh or increaſe my eſteem for that Author, *c. Pl. Pb.* p. 15.

You ſoam again as in the Falling-Sickneſs, becauſe I had ſaid that I thought God never intended the Clergy for Political and Secular im- *Rip* p. 326.

ployments, and you make it to be no leſs then Blaſphemy. If they be ſo enamour'd of thoſe drudgeries, and have deputed you to maintain it, much good may it do them and you. But why ſhould you upon no more occaſion tell me: *Fatuos & hujus Terræ filios quod attinet* (ſaith a Jewiſh Zelote) *non magis noſtro judicio prophetare poſſunt quam Aſinus & Rana. Aſſes and Todpoles may as ſoon expect the Impreſſions of the Divine Spirit as ſuch Dunces and Sots as you?* But theſe words of yours I ſuppoſe you pretend to be dictated by that Spirit. And further you ſay, *The* Ruac Hakodeſh *dwell in ſuch a diſtemper'd and polluted mind as yours! It may as ſoon unite it ſelf to a Swine.* Ruac Hakodeſh, Mr. *Bayes*, this is as your other *Bayes* has it, *A Cruſt, a laſting Cruſt for your Rogue Critiques: I would fain ſee the preudeſt of them all but dare to nibble at this. If they do, this ſhall rub their gums for 'm. I promiſe you.* I doubt your *Ruac Hakodeſh* is but at beſt a *Bath col.* But is not this of yours fine language think you for an *A. Sac. Dom?*

Pref. Com. P. 14.

O Seytang Aurang Olanda bacalay Samatay. To ſhow you, Mr. *Bayes*, that I too have been ſometimes converſant with the Jewiſh Zelotes, I will tell you hereupon a Story out of one of them, that ſhall as yours be nameleſs. There was among the *Jews* a certain kind of people that were called *Proſelytes*, which you may in *Engliſh* interpret *Turn-coats*, concerning whom was that expreſſion that I quoted you before of our Saviours, *Mat.* 23. 15. *Wo unto you Scribes and Phariſees, Hypocrites, for you compaſs Sea and Land to make a Proſelyte, and when he is made, you make him twofold more the child of Hell then you your ſelves.* Now what I ſhall tell you of theſe men, I would not have you to miſapply unto ſuch Conſcientious perſons, as have reunited themſelves unto the Diſcipline of our Church; for I wiſh that all the Non-conformiſts rather could find reaſon to do in like manner: but it relates particularly to your ſelf, who, abandoning all Modeſty and Chriſtianity toward your former party, have defiled and diſhonour'd the Church

that has receiv'd you into protection. But concerning these *Proselytes* and Turn-coats it was that the *Jews* had that Maxime; *Proselyti & Paederastæ impediunt adventum Messiæ*: and again, *Proselyti sunt sient Scabies Israeli*; that they were like a Scab or Leprosie to *Israel*. Therefore when a Proselyte was circumcised, they first catechized him about the sincerity of his Conversion; whether he did not do it, *ob adipiscendas Divitias*, to make his Fortune; *ob Timorem*, for Fear of some inconvenience; or lastly, *ob Amorem erga aliquam Israeliticam*, Whether there were not some woman in the bottom of the business. For they had a shrowd suspicion of them, *Quod non periti essent Mandatorum, quodque inducerent Vindictas, atque insuper quod forte eorum Opera imitarentur Israelitæ*: and therefore it was *quod Proselyti opus habebant Triumviratu*, and they would not trust them until three men had examined and taken care that all were right. And if it chanced that both the Man and the Wife came together to be Proselytes, they were used to separate

ſeparate and keep them apart for ninety dayes, *ut dijudicari poſſit inter prolem in Sanctitate genitam.* Nay, moreover there was a Baptiſme peculiarly ſolemn before they could be admitted, and a great ceremonial *Rationale* by which it was to be adminiſtred. The whole body was to be dip'd *merſione una. Si, excepto apice minimi digiti, manebat adhuc in immunditia. Si quis capilloſus admodum, omnem crinem capitis abluere neceſſe erat.* And there were many other ſcrupulous niceties in this waſhing. As for the Water; *homo Gonorrhœus non mundatur niſi in fonte: Sed Menſtruoſa & Proſelytus in Collectione aquarum.* But put caſe the ſame man were *Proſelytus* and *Gonorrhœus* too, though the Rabbies were very exact, I find not this decided; but it is eaſie to collect that he muſt have paſſed thorow both waters. They were ſo curious as to regulate what proportion too of water was ſufficient, and the leaſt quantity that could be allowed was, *Quatuor Seæ aquarum* and the dimenſion, *Cubitus quadratus*, &c. Now, Mr. *Bayes*,

I would gladly be satisfyed whether you have been rightly and duly proselyted according to these Ceremonies, (for you know that the Jewish Ceremonies are not so abrogated but that the Procunsul may reestablish them) but particularly have you been drawn cross the River to *Lambeth*? has not so much as the top of your little finger escaped ducking? is there not one hair of your head but has been over head and ears in the River? All this ought to have been exactly observed, (especially considering how much filth you brought about you) else you are not a true Turn-coat but remain still in your uncleanness. And you might have had the advantage in traversing thus the water, to have catched some of the prophecying *Tadpoles* you speak of. But really, there is your self and some few more such Proselytes to our Church, that are so impure Creatures, that before you had been admitted into it, *'had been absolutely necessary* for you to have passed thorow this cold Water Ordeal.

You

You do three times at least in your *Reproof*, and in your *Transproser Rehears'd* well nigh half the book throw, run upon an Author *J. M.* which does not a little offend me. For why should any other mans reputation suffer in a contest betwixt you and me? But it is because you resolved to suspect that he had an hand in my former book, wherein, whether you deceive your self or no, you deceive others extreamly. For by chance I had not seen him of two years before; but after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, least I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your Friend the Author of the *Common Places* could have told you, (he too had a flash at *J. M.* upon my account) that had he took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escap'd so easily as you did under my *Transprosal*. But I take it moreover very ill that you should have so mean an opinion of me, as not to think me competent to write such

Rep. p. 1. 195. 212.

ſuch a ſimple book as that without any aſſiſtance. It is a ſign (however you upbraid me often as your old acquaintance) that you did not know me well, and that we had not much converſation together. But becauſe in your 115. *p.* you are ſo particular *you know a friend of ours*, &c. intending that *F. M.* and his anſwer to *Salmaſius*, I think it here ſeaſonable to acquit my promiſe to you in giving the Reader a ſhort trouble concerning my firſt acquaintance with you. *F. M.* was, and is, a man of great Learning and Sharpneſs of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be toſs'd on the wrong ſide, and he writ *Flagrante bello* certain dangerous Treatiſes. His Books *of Divorce* I know not whether you may have uſe of; but thoſe upon which you take him at advantage were of no other nature then that which I mentioned to you, writ by your own father; only with this difference, that your Fathers, which I have by me, was written with the ſame deſign, but with much leſs Wit or Judgment, for which

which there was no remedy: unless you will supply his Judgment with his High Court of Justice. At His Majesties happy Return, *J. M.* did partake, even as you your self did for all your huffing, of his Regal Clemency and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that being one day at his house, I there first met you and accidentally. Since that I have been scarce four or five times in your Company, but, whether it were my foresight or my good fortune, I never contracted any friendship or confidence with you. But then it was, when you, as I told you, wander'd up and down *Moor-fields* Astrologizing upon the duration of His Majesties Government, that you frequented *J. M.* incessantly and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your *Scaramuccios*, and in your own person, as a School-Master, who

was

was born and hath lived much more ingenuously and Liberally then your self; to have done all this, and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform your self better, which you had so easie opportunity to do; nay, when you your self too have said, to my knowledge, that you saw no such great matter in it but that I might be the Author: it is inhumanely and inhospitably done, and will I hope be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say such a *Judas*,) but a man that creeps into all companies, to jeer, trepan, and betray them.

But after this fresh example of Romanticks generosity, and your *John*-like *Good nature*, you plunge over head and ears into History. That of *Sibthorpe* and *Manwaring*, I had occasion before to speak of in better method. I shall therefore only renew your own request in your Epistle to the Reader, *that they would peruse it with an unprejudiced mind, and an ordinary attention*, and I shall leave the rest to their judg-

judgments. For I do not know but that you may have ſome peculiar diſpenſation to determine thoſe in 3° *Caroli* to have been *moſt notorious Rebels*, notwithſtanding that in the year 1667. this preſent Parliament reſolved in the moſt ſolemn and judicial manner, by a concurrence of the Lords with the Commons, *that the Judgment againſt them in* 5 Caroli *was illegal.* As to *Manwa ings* particular, whoſe cauſe you take up with a remarkable concernment, I cannot but attribute it to ſome extraordinary cotreſpondence of *Genius* betwixt you. His very name hath more influence and power upon you then Doctor *Bathurſts* Taliſmans; and that very week that you uttered this Hiſtory of Doctor *Manwaring*, comes out in the Gazette of the firſt of *May* (I know not by what ſympathy) *The Hiſtory and Myſtery of the Venereal* Lues, *being a more new and ample diſcovery of that Diſeaſe, then yet hath been extant, with the Medicines and Methods of Cure practiſed in* Italy, Spain, Germany, Holland, France, *and* England, *&c. by F. Manwaring*, Doctor of Phyſick. You

Preſ. to C. Pl. Ph.

You launch out into a Relation of the Conference too at *Worcester-House*, betwixt the Episcopal and the Non-conformist Divines, by His Majesties Commission. What is most to be taken notice of, is, that you say here and in several other places, that the Non-conformists had *nothing of Sin to object against those things from which they dissented.* I have heard to the contrary, that they did in eight; if not ten several instances, but it is not my business to enumerate either for them or you. Only I admire, I confess, that upon such an occasion they could not in any one thing be gratified, not so much as in forbearing the Lessons of the Apocrypha. Insomuch that, as many remember very well, after a long tug at the Convocation-house about that matter, a good Doctor came out at last with great exultation, that *they had carried it for* Bel *and the* Dragon.

I cannot omit what it seems you thought necessary to be said in defence of your Cause, that *none are better qualified for State-affairs then Church-men,*

and

and none have acquitted themselves with greater art and success, and that things have rarely miscarried, but when their counsels have not been effectually follow'd (as you shall shew also in the cases of Cardinal Granvile *and Arch-bishop* Laud.) Alas what needed you to have gone so far about, when your own Case all along, and even this your *Reproof* and this Parallel, are so pregnant a demonstration of their abilities? And you acquit your promise, where you say, *that the wise and resolute Ministry of* Granvell *was render'd not only successless but odious to the People. For as he was a man of extraordinary wisdom, courage, and fidelity, that sincerely pursued his Masters interest, faithfully executed his commands, and kept up the height of his Authority*; so *being an* Implacable Divine *he saw to the bottom of the projects that were carryed on by the discontented Lords, and foresaw the tendency of Factions in Religion to Disorders and Seditions in the State.* I shall not suppose any one who reads this book to have so little covnerſ'd with the modern History, as not to gather

gather hence how ready you are to make good your word to the Lady whom I mentioned, as to your Religion. But I have not yet heard of any Proteſtant, beſide your ſelf and the Recorder of *London*, who hath of late years ſo publickly avowed the Inquiſition, of which that Cardinal *Granvell* was the chief Patron and Inſtrument. And inſtead of that honorable character you give him, I ſhall refer you to *Grotius*, whom I chuſe always to ply you with above all other Authors. *The Government of the Netherlands was in appearance in* Margaret, *but in effect, and as to the power, was only in* Granvell *in whom Induſtry, Vigilance, Ambition, Luxury, and Avarice, and all manner indeed if good and evil were remarkably viſible*, &c. And therefore it is not the greateſt inſtance of your prudence (whatſoever you thought in your *meer Conſcience*) to take this publick *Liberty* of *dogmatizing*, and to pick out that Cardinal (whom I never thought of) to be the Precedent and Parallel of Arch biſhop *Lauds* adminiſtration.

I

I should after this do you injury, did I not take notice that whereas in your Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*, in the fifth leaf before you conclude, I told you that you spoke scandalously and with seeling reflexion upon the Government and Ministers of State, you try with the best of your Skil to return it upon me. But so unfortunately, that, as alwayes, you sink deeper and quag your self in your *Roman-Empire*. *Were it possible*, say you (and I abhor to hear you) *that His Majesty should degenerate from the goodness of his nature, as much as they say* Nero *did*, and again, *these are the* Sejanus's *that you described*. It will not serve your turn, this evation. 'Tis like mine Host in *France*, that when he swore *Je renie Dieu*, interpreted it of the *Dieu Bacchus*. You spoke not a word there of *Nero* or *Sejanus*, or that could be applyed to either; unless you can give us *Nero's Coronation-Oath*, or *Sejanus* his *cases of Conscience*, or at last instance in that Emperours *being canonized for a Saint and Martyr*, so that for the Wit and Chronology of the business this too is calculated for the Play of *Moses* and

Rep. p. 288.

Julius Cæsar. But for the discretion and loyalty of it, you might have long since answered, as for other passages, did either the *Rabble* or the *Statesmen* think you considerable; whereas indeed they reckon you it seems among that sort of men, who have a Priviledge to say any thing with impunity. But for the Long Parliament you have
Rep. p. 400. indeed an Ecclesiastical *Non obstante* to say what you will. I shall only take up at one Passage: *To deal plainly with you, I have read most of the Long Parliament Speeches over, and, though I know you will chide me for calling a whole Parliament Coxcombes, yet it is better to call them so then worse: Yet this censure I dare pass upon them, without any suspition of arrogance within my self, that they were for the most part no better then School-boyes Declamations, &c. all their discourses were much like yours, and accommodated to people that took Confidence for Reason, Nonsense for Mysteries, and Rudeness for wit.* Ay, *Mr.* Bayes, they wanted some certain helps, helps for wit, which you Man of Art have thought fit to make use of. *Ay, Sir, that's your position, and you do here aver, that no man*

yet

yet the Sun ever ſhone upon, has parts ſufficient to furniſh out a Stage, except it be with the help of your Rules. But I was misinform'd I perceive, who thought you might have call'd them all the names in the Rainbow but Coxcombes, and never heard them arraign'd of *want of Wit*, but by your Abundance. But that you may not think altogether ſo meanly of them, (though indeed who is the man either in the former or this Age that is able to ſtand or appear before your profound Eloquence and piercing judgment) let me refer you, although many others might be cited, to two Speeches of the Lord *Falklands*: the firſt concerning Epiſcopacy which begins, *He is a great Stranger to* Iſrael, *who knows not that this Kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppreſſions*, &c. The ſecond Speech was to the Lords, at the delivery of the Articles againſt the Lord Keeper, and begins, *Theſe Articles againſt my Lord Keeper being read, I may be bold to apply*, &c. And *if you think theſe worthy of peruſal*, I ſhall expect your ſecond

opinion concerning the capacity and skill of those Gentlemen both in History and Oratory. But as for you, when Doctor *Heylin*'s Divinity shall go for Orthodox, or his Prevarications pass for History, you may then, and not before, be reputed a Classical Author. And all the *Canterbury* Tales you have told in the *Reproof* will be Chronicle. There was just such another *Italian* acquaintance of yours, one *Polydore* [*Virgil*, who coming into *England*, was signifyed and distinguish'd like you, being made both a Prebend and an Arch-deacon; only you are not yet as he was come to be Collector of the *Peter-pence*, but all in good time. This Gentleman did too, even as you, oblige this Nation with a piece of History, which after he had writ he used a notable invention, which if you would but imitate and burn all the Records of the times you write of, it were the only way imaginable to make you authentick.

As you are officious in your own Stories, so you are very inquisitive

and

and critical upon some that I have told you; and for a great space of your book you run out into such *Froath* and *Growns* and *Taplash* of Wit, that it deserves compassion. Insomuch that though men may perhaps believe that, as you your self affirm'd, *you are not valiant*, yet there is some reason to doubt the truth of what you say in the same place, *that you are not miserable.* But you are more particularly concern'd to know who that Queen was, and of what Country, that gave so ridiculous a Town Seal. For wheresoever you can suspect any thing smutty underneath, you are wonderful curious to be thorowly informed. But I have already gratifyed you in Pork, and am not bound to nauseate the Reader to comply with your ignorance. I will tell you who that Tyrant was that demanded so many bushels of Fleas: It was *John Basiliwich* the great Duke of *Muscovy*, and it was of the Citizens of *Muskew* that he required it, fining them for Non-payment. But as for this Queen, it shall for certain reasons of State be

Rep. p. 401.

C. Pl. Ph. p. 15.

Rep. p. 503.

Rep. p. 503.

a ſecret. Only, not to leave you wholly in the dark, if you pleaſe to ſpeak with your Fellow-Chaplain of the Copper-Mines, he will inform you, for it is in that Kingdom. And if he do not ſatisfie you, if you pleaſe to reſort to me, I will ſhew you the Medal of the City with that Device upon the Reverſe of it.

'Tis more then time that I left ſcumming you, for I perceive 'tis all the ſame ſtuff: and, ſhould I continue, I ſhould leave you nothing in the bottom; therefore I ſhall only take notice of two things more very remarkable. The one is concerning the quotation out of St. *Auſtin*, which I ſpeak of from *p.* 209. to *p.* 214. of my former book: *Signa quum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur*. You had ſaid, you would lay odds there was no ſuch ſaying in S. *Auſtin*; and now, becauſe your Anſwerer had ſaid *ſunt Sacramenta* in ſtead of *Sacramenta appellantur* (which therefore you note in him as *a boldneſs with the Text for his own convenience, and an improvement beyond Modeſty*)

you

you think you are ſafe. But, good Mr. *Bayes*, whether or no doth an Arch-deacon *pertinere ad res divinas*? And pray tell me what is the difference betwixt ſaying that you are an Arch-deacon, or you are called an Arch-deacon? But becauſe I wonder'd you could not find it when I my ſelf had met with it, *Ep. 5ta ad Marcellinum*. You ſay, *you will not laugh at me, no, for I rather deſerve to be ſcourged for ſo groſs and impudent a falſhood: whereas (as fortune would have it) the Fourth is the laſt Epiſtle to* Marcellinus *that St.* Auſtin *ever writ, and if you had ſearch'd after a Fifth Epiſtle to him, you might have pored till the day of Judgment.* Let all ingenuous men judge this matter. I quoted it only in the order of the Epiſtles, where the firſt to *Marcellinus* is the fifth Epiſtle. You ſay it ſhould have been thus ſet down by me, *Ad Marcellinum: Epiſtola Quinta*: and that I quote it *Ep. Quinta ad Marcellinum*. I do not, but thus, *Ep. 5ta ad Marcellinum*. Mind firſt how falſely you have tranſcribed my quotation to fit it to your own

turn; and then obſerve too upon what a trivolous and miſtaken ground, and about how ſlight a matter, you moleſt the Reader: for, beſide what here, there runs a repetition of this matter of *Marcellinus*, and others of leſs conſequence, through the whole *Reproof*. But, Mr. *Bayes*, this buſineſs is not yet ended thus: I will ſave your *poring till the day of Judgment*, and help you to a Fifth Epiſtle of St. *Auſtin* too to *Marcellinus*. Take the Edition *Lugduni*. Anno 1561. and, whereas you ſay that (*as fortune would have it*) St. Auſtin *never writ out four Epiſtles to* Marcellinus; this is but your uſual misfortune, to hamper your ſelf worſe when you would diſ-intangle your own errours. For his 5th. 7th. 158th. and 159th. are his four Epiſtles to *Marcellinus*. But you will find there *p.* 1080. a 222d Epiſtle, which is a fifth to the ſame perſon. It is noted ſo all along in the head of the pages, and the contents of it expreſs before it begins: *Longa & docta eſt hæc Epiſtola, tractans de Baptiſmo parvulorum contra* Pelagium. (Becauſe it

was

was againſt *Pelagius*, could you not or might you not ſee it?) *quem tamen clementer in hac Epiſtola tractat. Hæc per exemplaris vetuſtatem difficulter legi potuit, propter quod in aliquibus obſcura eſt* (but not ſo obſcure but you might have diſcerned it,) You ſay you find none of the *Non-Conformiſts dirty Thumb-Nails in your Patrons Library.* But have not you, nor your poor *Leaf-turners* liberty to peruſe the Volumes? Or is there a peculiar Reverence due to the Books in that place that no man does or may touch them? Or have you loſt all your credit too *apud* Jo. Shirley *in parva* Britannia, and is the *Pelican* grown hard-hearted? Could you but have reckon'd your five fingers you had not miſtaken. But this proceeds from your bragging of Books (ſo uſual with you) which you have not the patience to read over, no more then your own; or having caſt your eye on the *Index* you imagine you have read the Author, for indeed here the *Index* points but at four Epiſtles, but the *Pollex* would have made them five. Rep p. 135.

The

Rep. from p. 422. to p. 426.

The other paſſage of yours, and laſt which I purpoſe to recommend to the Reader, is indeed accompanyed with many extraordinary circumſtances. It is not that wherein you accuſe your Anſwerer to have given their degrees to *Oliver* and *Ireton* at *Oxford*, though it is notoriouſly known that it was a Biſhop yet living who performed that Ceremony. That is an untruth too ſlender to be taken notice of in a Book ſo pregnant as the *Reproof*. But it is the whole hinge it ſeems whereupon your deſign of writing has turned. For upon occaſion of a certain *Declaration publiſhed*, as you inform, *after the* Cheſhire *inſurrection*, which you affirm to have been ſubſcribed by your Anſwerer, and which you have kept in deck until this ſeaſon; You pretend that you have dealt *ſo roundly*, as you call it, with him and the Party, and me too. Happy had it been for me that you had once underſtood how to ſpeak truth. For had you not writ *ſo roundly*; I had never intermeddled in theſe matters, and ſo the *Reproof* too had been

been ſpared. However I have gain'd hereby ſo much learning as to know what is the Figure of Falſhood, It ſeems 'tis Circular, and in your phraſe, to ſpeak *roundly*; and you have ſtretch'd it ſo till it is *Unhoopable*. But I therefore ſhall anſwer you ſquare. It is known and ready to be proved by thouſands, that the Declaration mention'd was not writ by your Anſwerer, nor any of his party; but by the Fifth-monarchy men, and its effect vented it ſelf in that wild inſurrection of *Vennor*. You your ſelf, although you were not of ſo high a diſpenſation, yet were at that time of Age ſufficient, and ſtirring enough in your little Sphere to have underſtood it rightly. But it is a grievous thing to forego a falſhood that is ſerviceable to the great deſign; and the *Ends of your publick Government will at laſt excuſe if not hallow*, the moſt Orbicular untruth. Hence it was that you were ſo forward to publiſh that book of *Baxter Baptized in Blood*. And hence now it is that, as your laſt reſerve of Slander and Malice

Malice, as you had eſſayed in the *Preface to Biſhop Bramhall*, you throw this upon the body of the Non conformiſts, upon me too, and your Anſwerer. Yet neither is this Declaration ſo mad as that which you have penn'd, p. 64, 65, 66. of your *Reproof*, in the ſtile and name of His Majeſty, with a boldneſs of which I think no Age can bring a Parallel. But ſeeing neither that of *Baxter*, nor this attempt upon your Anſwerer and the Party, has had that bad effect which probably you had propoſed, I ſhall not aggravate it further; but appeal to all Men, whether the world be well uſed, when ſuch railing books, grounded upon voluntary and ſuborn'd ſuggeſtion and forgery, ſhall by publick Licenſe invade mens quiet, and diſturb their Modeſty, and ſtir up a tumult of writing; and yet, if any man ſhall but open his mouth to the contrary, and in defence of common ingenuity, the ſame perſon that invented or Licenſed the falſhood, ſhall have the priviledge likewiſe to prohibit the Truth and the Diſcovery.

Only, Mr. *Bayes*, forasmuch as you do here avow that it was upon this occasion that you called for *Signal Marks*, *Acknowledgments*, *Recantations*, &c. and seeing this occasion chances to be no occasion, pray learn hence forward to be something more deliberate in your railing against the Non-conformists. Perhaps if you would use your incomparable *Suada*, and move them to Repentance in a Theological and Christian Language, they might be prevailed with. For truly it do's befit all that have been accessory to the late mischiefs and crimes, to walk with great innocence and modesty, though after the State has set them right, the Church cannot of right, as you would have it, demand another Allegiance. But to think, that Railing will do the work, or for men to hear themselves called *Traytors*, *Villains*, *Schismaticks*, *Heretick's*, and to have all mankind preach'd and hurangu'd up to extirpate them, for meer Non-conformity; and this by such a person as you (which makes their suffering more infamous and odi-

ous

ous to them) and for you to perſwade them that all this is wholſome for them and the good of their Souls, and that therefore they ſhould recant in your hands, it is juſt as if *Rabſhakeh* ſhould pretend, when he threatned the men of *Jeruſalem* they ſhould drink their own P.ſs, that he preſcribed them a remedy for the Scurvy. Pray do but try a little, Mr. *Bayes*, for experiment how you your ſelf could away with this Recanting; if you were to diſgorge all you had ſwallowed, and ſwallow all you had diſgorged, it would make you I trow look very ſimply, and caſt you into a Fit worſe then of the *Miſerere* or the Iliack Paſſion. Were you to recant all your falſe Doctrines, all your Profanations of Scripture, all your *Bear-Garden* and *Billingsgate* Railing and Scolding; Nay, were you to recant (and in good Conſcience you ought to refund) for your eſtate got by Plunder, and Sequeſtration and High-Court of Juſtice. Were you to recant for all the Circles, Semicircles, Complements, and Segments in the *Reproof*; Were you but

to

to refund to your Book-ſeller, for all thoſe books that you were fain to give away to diſperſe them, and for that mutual *Gratification*, which you were not aſham'd, notwitoſtanding all your Dignities, to pillage him off before he could pay his Printer: I doubt the leaſt of theſe would come off with an ill grace, and 'twould go very hard and aukwardly with you. But, becauſe this may be too ſevere, you have here ſolemnly *proteſted: that if your Anſwerer can convict you of any one Forgery, it ſhall not ſuffice to ask him forgiveneſs upon your knees, but you will make him a publick Recantation.* This thing of the Declarations, that it was ſubſcribed by your Anſwerer, is a notorious and convict Forgery. Therefore do but now go to him, and kneel down on your knees, and ask his bleſſing, & make but a private Recantation, and I will ſay you are ſo far an Honeſt man.

And now being ſo near a period I cannot but gratulate my good fortune, rather then my wiſdom, that I have travelled ſuch an Author through with no more extravagancy. 'Tis ſome kind of deliverance to have found

found my way so well when I was to follow an *Ignis Fatuus*. Had he thought fit to make use of my admonition, there had been no occasion for this intercourse. But seeing he has chosen it, I hope there are few persons of Candor who need strain their invention to supply my excuse; it being more easie to justifie to others, then to delight my self with this kind of writing. And among the most Eminent, I hope my Lord Archbishop will not (if this be the man I take him for) misinterpret me. But that as he was once pleased to *thank me, and acknowledge that I had done good service to the Church* in detecting to him another Doctor so effectually, that he voluntarily subscribed never to come more within any Pulpit, although he is since *punished* with a Living of Three hundred pounds a year: so now his Grace will not take it ill that I have also discovered this man to him, the Tenure of whose Divinity is per *Saltum, Sufflum, & Pettum*; and whose Purse and Conscience, being link'd with the same Tyes, do make

make together the perfect Character of an, *&c.*

What remains, Mr. *Bayes*, is to ſerve in your *Bacon*, but becauſe I would do it to the beſt advantage, I ſhall add ſomething elſe for your better and more eaſie digeſtion. The firſt ſhall be your *Amminus Marcel.* whom if you had, as I adviſed you, bit off at both ends, he could not probably have moleſted you. But in the 27*th* book, having deſcribed the contention of *Damaſcus* and *Urſicinus* for Eccleſiaſtical preeminence, he adds; *Theſe kind of men ought indeed to be moſt ſharply reprehended, who, having obtained what they covet, are ſecure to be inriched with the offerings of the Ladies, and rowle about in Coaches, curiouſly dreſt up, and eat more delicately then Princes; whereas they might be truly happy, if neglecting the Grandeur and Oſtentation of the City; which they make an excuſe for their Vices, they would imitate, in their manner of living, ſuch Country Prelates, who eating and drinking moderately, cloathing themſelves homely, and looking humbly, recommend*

themselves thereby to the everlasting Deity, and those that truly worship him, as modest and pure persons. Again, in his 21 book, giving the Character of *Constantius*, among other things he saith that, *He did confound the Christian Religion which is a perfect and plain thing*, Rem absolutam & simplicem, *with a Grannamish and doating Superstition, and instead of composing with gravity the perplexed questions which he excited, he promoted them further with a strife of words; so that the Prelates, trooping it up and down on the publick Post-horses, and canterburing from Synod, as they call it, to Synod, whilest they indeavour to draw all Rites within their jurisdiction, there were scarce any Horses left to supply Travellers.* If this be for your service pray make use of it.

But lest you should say hereupon that your *Ammianus* was a *Socinian*, will you admit King *James* his judgment, who, after nineteen years experience, tells the Parliament, *That the external Government appear'd well, Learned Judges, setled Peace, great Plenty, so that it was to be thought every*

man

might have ſat in ſafety under his own Vine and Fig tree; *yet he was aſhamed, and it made his hair to ſtand upright to conſider, how his People have in this time been vexed and poll'd by the vile execution of Projects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, and ſuch like*; *which, beſide the trouble of his People, have more exhauſted their Purſes then Subſidies would have done.* You ſee that a *Bill of Conformity* (though it made not, in the phraſe of your *Preface*, *an Archangel ſtare, yet it*) made a Kings hair ſtand an end.

But leſt you ſhould ſay King *James* was an *Arminian*, I ſhall now bring in my Lord *Verulam*, whom you cannot refuſe, having ſo often call'd for him. And I the rather quote him becauſe a wiſe man is as it were eternal upon earth; and he ſpeaks ſo judiciouſly and impartially, that it ſeems as if theſe very times which we now live in had been in his preſent proſpect. There are two ſhort Treatiſes of theſe matters, one begins p. 129. the other p. 180. of his *Reſuſcitatio*. Pray, Mr. *Bayes*, let us both liſten, for I

assure you, before he has done, he will tell us many a wiser thing then is to be met with either in *Ecclesiastical Politie* or *Rehearsal*. 'The Controversies 'themselves (saith he) I will not 'enter into, as judging that the 'Disease requires rather Rest then any 'other Cure. Neither are they con- 'cerning the great parts of the Wor- 'ship of God. of which it is true; '*Non servatur Unitas in Credendo nisi* 'eadem sit in Colendo. Not as be- 'twixt the East and West Church, 'about Images, or between us and 'the Church of *Rome* about the Ado- 'ration of the Sacrament, &c. but 'we contend about ceremonies, and 'things indifferent, about the extern 'Policy and Government of the 'Church.' And as to these we ought 'to remember that the ancient and 'true Bounds of Unity are, one Faith, 'one Baptism, and not one Ceremo- 'ny or Policy. *Differentiæ Rituum* 'commendant Unitatem Doctrinæ. The 'diversities of Cerimonies do set forth 'the Unity of Doctrine, and *habet* 'Religio quæ sunt Æternitatis, *habet*

quæ

'*quæ ſunt Temporis*, Religion hath 'parts which belong to Eternity, and 'parts which pertain to time. If we 'did but know the virtue of Silence 'and Slowneſs to ſpeak, commended 'by St, *James*, and would leave the 'overweaning and turbulent humors of 'theſe times, and revive the bleſſed 'proceeding of the Apoſtles and Pri-'mitive Fathers, which was in the 'like caſes, not to enter into Aſſerti-'ons and Poſitions, but to deliver 'Counſells and Advices we ſhould 'need no other remedy at all. *Bro-'ther, there is Reverence due to your 'Counſel, but Faith is not due to your 'Affirmation.* St. *Paul* was content 'to ſay, *I and not the Lord*, but now 'men lightly ſay, *not I but the Lord*, 'nay and bind it with an heavy denun-'ciation of his judgments to terrifie 'the ſimple, whereas ſaith that wiſe 'man, *the cauſleſs Curſe ſhall not come.* 'The Remedies are firſt that there 'were an end made of this immodeſt 'and deformed manner of writing 'lately entertained, whereby matter 'of Religion is handled in the ſtile of

'the Stage. But to leave all reve-
'rence and religious compassion to-
'ward evils, or indignation toward
'faults, and to turn Religion into
'a Comedy or Satyre, to search and
'rip up wounds with a laughing Coun-
'tenance, to intermix Scripture and
'Scurrility sometimes in one Sentence
'is a thing far from the devout reve-
'rence of a Christian, and scant be-
'seeming the honest regard of a
'sober man. Two principal causes
'have I ever known of Atheism;
'Curious Controversie, and profane
'Scoffing. Now that these two
'are joyned in one, no doubt that
'Sect will make no small progressi-
'on. *Job*, speaking of the Majesty
'and Gravity of a Judge, saith, *If*
'*I did smile they believed it not*:
'that is, if I glanced upon conceit of
'mirth, yet mens minds were so pos-
'sessed with the Reverence of the
'Action in hand, as they could not re-
'ceive it. Much more ought not this
'to be among Bishops and Divines, dis-
'puting about Holy things. Truly as
'I marvel that some of those Prea-
'chers

'chers which call for Reformation
'(whom I am far from wronging so
'far as to joyn them with these scof-
'fers) do not publish some declaration,
'in dislike that their cause should be
'thus sollicited; so I hope assuredly
'that my Lords of the Clergy have
'no intelligence with this inter-
'libelling, but do altogether disallow
'that their Cause should be thus de-
'fended. For though I observe in one
'of them many glosses, whereby the
'Man would insinuate himself into
'their favours; yet I find it to be ordi-
'nary that many pressing and fawning
'persons do misconjecture of the hu-
'mour of Men in Authority, and many
'times seek to gratifie them with that
'which they most dislike Neverthe-
'less, I note that there is not an indiffe-
'rent hand carried to these Pamphlets
'as they deserve. For the one sort fly
'in the dark, and the other is uttered
'openly. Next I find certain in-
'discreet and dangerous amplifications
'as if the Civil Government, &c.
For it is impossible to omit any thing
in those excellent discourses, without

apparent injury to their Author, and to the Reader. And that which makes them more pertinent is, that he does not ſpare neither the Non-conformiſts but gives them too their juſt charge; for neither then certainly, nor now, are they to be excuſed: though the unequal dealing uſed towards them doth juſtifie them the more, and hath not allowed place or leiſure in this Book for me to particularize their failings.

But leaſt you ſhould except againſt my Lord *Bacon*, as a Lay man, *not competent to judge of theſe Eccleſiaſtical matters in compariſon with the Clergy, and who was but, as far as the prejudice of the Age he lived in would permit him, an acute Philoſopher*; what ſay you to Doctor *Stillingfleet* in the Preface to his *Irenicon* from beginning to end? And in the Book it ſelf from *p.* 117. to 123? I have made ſcruple to diſguiſe the diſcourſes of him and others, as ſome practiſe, to make them paſs for mine own: and to quote them at length were unneceſſary, being ſo eaſily found in the Author. But here in few pages you may find all that

that you have ſaid with ſo many years labour, totally ruined.

But leaſt you ſhould reje& Dr. *Stil. lingfleet*, as a Papiſt, may Biſhop *Uſher*, Dr. *Hammond*, Biſhop *Taylor*, *Chilling-worth* be allow'd of? I have them all ready at hand for you. But they are all I doubt *ſuſpecta Fidei*, and you will believe none but your ſelf. This is that which hath ſeduced you. and, becauſe you preach'd over your notes of *Eccleſiaſtical Politie* in a private Congregation, without being interrupted, you imagined the whole world had been of that mind, and 'twould paſs for œcumenical Doctrine; Whereas I deſpair not of ſeeing yet by Gods goodneſs and the influence of his Majeſty, upon the prudence and moderation of my Lords the Biſhops, that if you ſtill perſiſt in your miſchievous undertaking, you ſhall be but *Simon Magus* his ſickle, to mow the whole field without any hand to manage it. It was in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*, after the long experiment of her Reign, that my Lord *Verulam* writ his firſt diſcourſe I quoted, and his

his ſecond at the coming in of King *James*, as Dr. *Stillingfleets* at the reſtauration of His Majeſty now reigning. But ſtill is at the beginning of the Reigns of our Princes, the proper ſeaſons of redreſſing theſe Eccleſiaſtical matters, & of taking firm meaſures for their future government, ſome rub has been interpoſed unhappily that has thrown all of the Bias and ſo loſt the Caſt. Who is there that ever reads the Scriptures, unleſs he put on Eccleſiaſtical Spectacles, (and thoſe too have a *Fly* ingraven upon them) but ſees plainly what tenderneſs is due unto the ſcruples of Chriſtians; that our Saviour hath taken Conſcience into his immediate protection, and how conformable the Apoſtles were to his rule therein, both as to Doctrine and Practice? What *Engliſh* man, reflecting ſeriouſly, but muſt think it hard that a man may be a Chriſtian in *Turky* upon better conditions? that the *French*, *Dutch*, and the *Wallons*, even at *Canterbury*, may ſerve God here more freely then our own Natives? that it ſhall be a Priviledge among us

to

to be an Alien, while an home-born Subject muſt pay the Double-duty (may forfeit his whole eſtate) for the Proteſtant Religion? What Chriſtian can conceive how a man ſhould loſe his right to the Sacraments for diſſenting from the Ceremonies? I think I objected that to you once, but you have never deſigned, as far as I can obſerve, once to anſwer it. But who eſpecially that as a wiſe man weighs, what it is to impoſe things unneceſſary upon people obedient to all other Laws, can adviſe the continuance of ſuch Counſels? For a Prince to adventure all upon it, is like Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, that fought three Battels for an Impoſition upon Sheep-skins. For a Clergy-man to offer at perſecution upon this Ceremonial account, is (as is related of one of the Popes) to juſtifie his indignation for his Peacock, by the example of Gods anger for eating the forbidden fruit. But in you, Mr. *Bayes*, who are I know not well what, I look upon it as an effect of your madneſs, and only the *ſtaring of an Arch-Deacon.*

You

Ref. P. 527. You ſay, *that moſt* wiſe men *were of opinion you ſhould not anſwer me, only deſire the world to compare it with your diſcourſes: yet others*, ('tis uncivilly ſaid both as to your ſelf and them) overpowr'd *you to this Reply, againſt the bent of your own inclinations.* What *others* was it? Was the Devil in you? Or were there *certain tyes upon you*, as *Bayes* ſaith, *that you could not be diſingaged from? and you writ for the ſake of ſome ingenious perſons and choice female Spirits, that have a value for you? otherwiſe you would ſee 'm all hang'd before you would ever more ſet Pen to Paper.* If I might adviſe you, Mr. *Bayes*, do ſo no more: for *I verily believe you have writ a whole Cart-load of things, every whit as good as this, and yet the inſolent Raſcalls turn them all back upon your hands again.* But do as you pleaſe, I have not paid you the Tythe of what I owe you, but it lyes ready for you, when you pleaſe to ſend for it. You are a Blatant Writer and a Latrant; and for leſſer crimes, though of the ſame nature, was *Gnevoski*, the *Polander*,

Reh. Com. p. 8.

Reh. Com. p. 15.

lander, ſentenc'd to lye barking underneath the Table. You put me in mind of the *Hollanders* in *Batavia*, who, having ſpent their other Ammunition, charged with Excrements; the purity of the Savage *Javans* could not abide it, but thereupon yielded them the Victory: neither does it become me to contend for it.

I will conclude in a ſhort ſtory, and more ſeaſonable, becauſe as your *Reproof*, it happen'd once at a Wedding. *Wenceſlaus* the Emperour, Married the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Daughter; the Duke, knowing the Emperours delights, brought along with him a Cart full of Jugling Conjurers, who playing their tricks, *Zytho* that was *Wenceſlaus* his Magician, *accedens propius artificem* Bavarum *cum omni apparatu protinus devorat* (*ore ad aures debiſcente*) *calceos duntaxat, quia luto obſiti videbantur, expuens: ſeceſſumq; inde petens, ventrem inſolita eſca gravem in ſolium aqua plenum exonerat, Præſtigiatoremq; adhuc madidum Spectatoribus reſtituit, paſſim deridendum, adeo ut cæteri quoque ejus Socii a ludo abſtinerent.*

Del. Rio. Mag. p. 317.

abſtinerent. Whether I ſhall have the like ſucceſs I know not (for truly our ſport is much like it, and unfit for ſerious Spectators.) However I have ſpit out your dirty Shoon.

THE END.

ERRATA.

PAge 91, l. 19, for *Domini* r. *Dominii.* p. 262, l. 10. r. *impericum*, p. 302, l. 17. r. *Gods*, p. 375, l. 9. r. *merſione*, p. 380. l. 9. r. *Romantick*, p. 38, l. 19. r. *of*. p. 385. l. 19. *for venit* r. *venit*, p. 391. l. 26. *for Ep.* 5^m. *ad Marc.* r. *Ep.* 5te *ad Marcellinum.* The reſt, which are too many more, the Reader is intreated to amend, and pardon.

REPROOF p. 67.

IF you have any thing to object againſt it, do your worſt. You know the Preſs is open.

Licenſed the 1ſt. of *May*, 1673.

By the Author and Licenſer of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

THE REHEARSALL TRANSPROS'D:

The SECOND PART.

Occaſioned by Two Letters: The firſt Printed, by a nameleſs Author, Intituled, A Reproof, *&c.*

The Second Letter left for me at a Friends Houſe, Dated Nov. 3. 1673. *Subſcribed* J. G. *and concluding with theſe words*; If thou dareſt to Print or Publiſh any Lie or Libel againſt Doctor *Parker*, By the Eternal God I will cut thy Throat.

Anſwered by ANDREW MARVEL

LONDON,
Printed for Nathaniel Ponder *at the* Peacock *in* Chancery Lane *near* Fleet-Street, 1673.

THE

REHEARSAL TRANSPROS'D.

The Second Part.

THE *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity* (why not Doctor *Sermon*?) doubts, with ſome reaſon, whether he has not in that Study *loſt his Underſtanding*. To convince himſelf therefore and others of the contrary he attempts to ſhew here at the beginning, that he not only knows as yet what he does, but remembers ſtill the very circumſtances of his actions. He tells me: *I* The laſt line of his Preface to the Rep.

Rep. p. 1. *had heard from him sooner had he not, immediately after he undertook my Correction, been prevented by a dull and lazy distemper; but being now recruited,* &c. Sooner or later imports not, it comes much to the same account. No Naturalist has determin'd the certain time of a Mountains pregnancy, how long it goes before it be deliver'd: but one has told us what kind of Child it always produces. And as for his dull and lazy Distemper, the Courtesie was no less superfluous to inform me of what most men have been long since fully satisfyed upon undeniable Testimony. What is the World concern'd in the Revolutions of his health, or the courses of Physick that he runs through at Spring and Fall? *Plutarch* indeed gives us the Minutes of *Alexander* the *Great*'s sickness after his last debauch; and the *Dutch* Historian *Aytzema* is so punctual in the late *Prince of Oranges* malady, as even to Chronicle in Folio what days he did *excernere Dura*, when *Fatida*, and when *Fæces laudabiles*. What then? Must it therefore follow that this *Orange* Doctor

ctor by having commenced in this Princes Train, is grown ſo conſiderable, that the *Temper of his mind*, the *Juncture of his Affairs*, and the *State of his Body* ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity? That after Ages muſt read in what Moon his invention was fluent, and in what *Epocha*, coſtive? That as in his late Preface he enter'd his *cloſer Importance* upon Record, ſo in this voluminous Pamphlet his cloſe Stool too ſhould be Regiſter'd? But ſuppoſe he were of ſuch Moment, he is too hard put to it, and but ill befriended, that he muſt do himſelf that Office. Was there not one true *Engliſh* Man left to help him? Ungrateful World, that when he has *loſt his Labour and Underſtanding* in writing them an *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, would not afford him ſome other Pen for his own Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. But he is ſo ſelf-ſufficient, and an *At-all* of ſo many capacities, that he would Excommunicate any Man who ſhould have preſumed to intermeddle ſo far within his Province. Has he been an Author? he is too the Licenſer.

The laſt line of Pref. to Rep.

Has he been a Father? he will ſtand too for God father. Is he then to be marryed? he asks his own Banes in Print. And now after he thinks himſelf cured, and in Wedding and Writing caſe, he cannot forbear nevertheleſs but he muſt be publiſhing his diſeaſes. Had he Acted *Pyramus* he would have been *Moon-ſhine* too. and the *Hole in the Wall.* That firſt *Author of Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, *Nero* was of the ſame temper. He could not be contented with the *Roman Empire* unleſs he were too his own *Precenter*; and he in the ſame manner, out of meer Charity, when he apprehended death, lamented only the detriment that Mankind muſt ſuſtain in loſing ſo conſiderable a Fidler. When a Man is once poſſeſs'd with this Fanatick kind of Spirit, he imagines, if a Shoulder do but itch, that the World has gall'd it with leaning on't ſo long and therefore he wiſely ſhrugs to remove the Globe to the other. If he chance but to ſneeze, he ſalutes himſelf, and courteouſly prays that the *Foundations of the Earth* be not ſhaken. And even

ſo

ſo *the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, ever ſince he crept up to be but the Weather-cock of a Steeple, he trembles and creaks at every puff of Wind that blows him about, as if the *Church of* England *were falling, and the State totter'd.* And then after Men are once come to miſtake themſelves as ſo neceſſary, it is no wonder if they impute it for a great Obligation, as oft as they condeſcend to give the Publick an account of their Privacies. There is not any ſo undecent Circumſtance of their life but they think it worthy to be committed to Paper, and, foul as it is, yet they forthwith ſend it away to the Printer. And now all Chriſtendom doubtleſs has taken notice that *the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity* has lain in of a dull and lazy diſtemper, and to be ſure the Eccleſiaſticks of his faculty have deeply Sympathized with his condition. The News will, after the rebound of ſome Months, reach *Conſtantinople* and *Agra*; and as ſoon as they hear of his recovery, the *Mufti* and the *Mulla* will certainly ſend to congratulate him.

But however he has methinks not dealt so kindly herein with his native Country, as their universal concernment for him might have deserved. For though indeed there must needs be a mighty profit upon the exportation of his Book, and those especially beyond the Line will think it a great advantage to buy the account of his health at any rate with so large a Volume into the bargain; yet he might, out of gratitude to our curiosity have advertis'd us at home the cheaper way, by the same Gazette in which he cries his Book to make it Vendible. Whereas the inserting it thus in so thick an *Octavo*, is a most palpable project upon Mens affections, and next to imposing his Book upon the Church wardens of every Parish, and the Chapters of all the Cathedrals. As well as Men love him, yet they desire not that his Sickness should be as chargeable to the Countrey as a Visitation. Nay, even the Clergy scruple at the Price, and take it ill that as oft as their Arch-deacon comes abroad again in Print, they should be oblig'd in this manner

manner to pay Procurations and Synodals. But of all Men it falls most severely upon the Non-conformists, who having been exhausted with so many other penalties formerly, cannot so well afford to buy their Penance so dear, and take off his Books every Year in Commutation. 'Tis true, he has been kind to them, and to such a degree, that he hath done more service to their Cause by writing against it, than all their own Authors that ever writ for them. But that therefore being so contrary to his intention, the Accident diminishes the Courtesie. And if yet for *old acquaintance* sake they could be content to give somewhat for *a Book in some places erroneous, in some places scarce sense, and of ill Consequence*; they compute that if *the Reproof to the Rehearsal Transpros'd in a Discourse to its Author by the Author of the Ecclesiastical Policy* be of the same Nature, and at the same price, it is however better of the two to buy an *English* Bible with all its faults. He is return'd to be a *Precious Man* indeed, more precious then ever heretofore at

Gregory p. 104. concerning the English Bible.

the Univerſity; if ſince he aroſe to be *the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, a poor Fanatick that has been of his intimacy cannot be inform'd how he does under the prodigal expence of Five Shillings.

He cannot ſure take it unkindly if I enter into a further conſultation of the Nature of his indiſpoſition, and the remedies; ſeeing he has ſo voluntarily intereſſed me therein, and his Readers. For the Officious always ſpring game to the Curious. The Diſeaſe being as he relates ſo dull and lazy, I ſhould think at firſt that it might have been a Lethargy, and whereas he imagines himſelf recruited, that he has only in order to a Cure (as is uſual in that caſe) been caſt into a Feaver. For he has forgot himſelf moſt extreamly, and his whole diſcourſe, as proceeding from a Man in the confines of two ſo contrary diſtempers, partakes all thorow equally of Stupidity and Raving.

But when I reflect further upon the Symptoms, and his deſcription, it ſeems more probably to be the *Abelteria*, a Greek

Greek diſcompoſure, and to which thoſe of his conſtitution are generally ſubject. The malignity of this affects the Mind rather than the Body, and therefore lies further beyond the reach of Phyſick. When once it takes a Man he is deſperate, and there is no more poſſibility of his recovery; nor is that ſtrange, it being the property of thoſe that have it by how much they grow worſe to conceive always that they are in a better Condition.

Some indeed will have it, that under thoſe Terms of a dull and lazy diſtemper he calumniates a more active and ſtirring Diſeaſe, (as the Spleen and the Scurvy do oftentimes bear the blame of another infirmity) and that it is no *Grecian* malady but derives its name from a Countrey much nearer. But that *Diſtemper is ſo unſuitable to the Civility of his Education, and the Gravity of his Profeſſion*, that I queſtion much whether it could be *ſo Clowniſh and Licentious* (bold though it be) *to accoſt* a Perſonage of his Figure and Character. Yet who knows after that Rep. p. 1.

new

new *Alliance* in the Year 1665. betwixt Nature and Divinity, that amorous ſeaſon of his *Tentamina Phyſico-Theologica*, (if he were the Author) whether his Nature may not have given his Divinity the ſlip, and running its own random have met with ſome miſadventure? For even then he had learnt how *Ariſtotle* Worſhiped his Wench under ſhow of Sacrificing to a Goddeſs. He inform'd us ſo early how *Stilpo* diſputing before the *Arcopagites*, that *Minerva* could not be a God, becauſe ſhe was a Woman, and therefore a Goddeſs; *Theodorus* ſomewhat ſmuttily ask'd him, whether he had ſeen her without her Shift. And this reparty of *Theodorus* he recommends there for ſo ingenious, that he ranks it among his Colours, why that Philoſopher, who call'd himſelf God, ſhould not be counted an Atheiſt; Though I can ſcarce diſcern any more Wit or Theology in it then in his own Argument lately among a Knot of eminent Divines, the Women being preſent; that the reſt of the Clergy-Mens Wives were but Diſh-clouts, his own

Tent. Phyſ. P. 2.

Tent. Phyſ. P. 14.

own a Goddeſs; and they had been perfectly quit, had but *Stilpo* now *cap'd Theodorus*, by telling him that they were all however no more then needed to ſcowre his Mouth after ſo ſlovenly a compariſon. In the ſame Book he demonſtrates at large how impoſſible it was (though *Epicurus* his Opinion) for Mankind to be produced at firſt from certain Veſicles or Pimples of the Earth. You would wonder to ſee how ſolidly and elaborately, with what *dint* of *Reaſon* he confutes ſo dangerous an Hereſy, to the great inſtruction doubtleſs, and advantage of Sir *John Hinton*, and Doctor *Chamberlain*. Then he takes their Office out of their Hands, and proceeds immediately to read a publick Lecture of the Figure and Uſe of the Veſſels of Generation, and more eſpecially thoſe of the Female. Like a forward Chick he pecks through Doctor *Harveys* Egg-ſhell, and tells us that moſt famous Phyſician was not ſo cunning as he ſhould have been in the chief Myſtery of the ſeminal buſineſs. At laſt this bluſhing Gentleman, this very Picture of modeſty,

Tent. Phyſ. from p. 68. to p. 77. & p. 112.

Tent. Phyſ. from p. 99. to p. 108.

Tent Phyſ. p. 105.

Repr. 227.

desty, in open terms undertakes to explain the pleasure annex'd to the Act of Procreation, and is so tickled with the imagination (presaging too perhaps, that it might ere long be his fortune to dine with a God, (so he stiles the Archbishop) and bed a Goddess, (so he calls his Mistress) that although he censures *Lucretius* for speaking so broad, yet he cannot refrain from using his own Words, *that 'twas so excessively sweet, as to be the solace not only of Mankind, but the Deities.* And all this stir is there made by the present *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity*, in order forsooth to prove Gods providence, as if that could not be, or were not sufficiently evidenced without his *Gossiping* collections of naked Midwifery. Insomuch that one who understood not beyond his Latine, might justly doubt, whether by the *Tentamina Physico-Theologica* he meant indeed the Essays of his Divinity, or the Temptations of his Nature. Neither can it in Reason seem strange if the vigorous and frequent contemplation of such Objects transported him further, and her too as

Tent. Phys. p. 108.

Hominumque Divumque voluptas.

as well as other Creatures might (to uſe his own Phraſe) *out of that vehement and unbridled concupiſcence ruſh in furias ignemq;* thorow Fire and Water upon a dangerous experiment againſt the *Pimples of the Earth and Paracelſus* his Limbeck. For he himſelf in a ſucceeding Book (ſaid to be his) *the cenſure of the Platonick Philoſophy* confeſſes; *that if in any reſpect Virtue and Religion intrench upon the liberty of our Natures, 'tis in the inſtances of ſenſuality, and that when the man is divided from the Beaſt, and his Reaſon ſeperated from the inferiour and bruitiſh appetites, then ariſe irregular and unreaſonable deſires,* &c. ſo that by his own acknowledgment, it is not impoſſible but the Man in him may at ſome time have been obliged to carry the brute a *pick a pack.* Only there is this difference betwixt his Beaſt and others, that his mind, it ſeems, is more ſubject to irregular and unreaſonable deſires when abſtracted within it ſelf whereas the Reaſon of other Men ſuffers moſt in conjunction with the inferiour and brutiſh appetites. So that although in the ſame

Tent. Phyſ. p. 105.

Tent. Phyſ. p. 73.

Cenſ. Plat. Phil. p. 211.

Book

Book he magnifies those spruce Gentlemen the *Platonists*, *as being professedly the most generous contemners of Women in the World*; and affirms, *that their amours* (for they were accus'd of Sodomy) *were not kindled by lust and petulancy, but were pure and cleanly enough to become Angels, and separated Souls*; though in the usual pompous explication of his own perfections he glories; *that he hath tasted less of sensual delights than he thinks any one placed in the said circumstances and capacities; for he hath hitherto scarce imploy'd any of his Senses but that of seeing*; notwithstanding all those preventive insinuations, I see no reason to trust him further then I would the Curate of *Ikham*, with his Maid Mary *Parker*. But I rather suspect that where he stops short in the carreer of a Sentence, *that he thinks nothing concerns him so much as those designs that aspire to serve his dearest* --- the rest was Bawdy. For though he were on the Rode to *Canterbury*, let any Female but cross his Way, 'tis odds that his Beast will stumble, and throw his Arch-deaconship in the Cart-rut, with his whole

Cens. Pl. Phil. p. 19.

Cens. Pl. Phil. p. 15.

Cens. Pl. Ph. p. 123.

Tri-

Tridentine Portmantle of Polity and Theology. Yet though I ſpeak theſe things with ſome certainty, to evidence them to others would require a more difficult ſcrutiny. For whatſoever 'twas that befell him, he has been ſo concern'd of late to ſtop all Avenues, and every Cranny of Intelligence, that were he to paſs through the diſcipline of ſweating, there could not have been more ſtrictneſs about the Doors and the Windows. And then his Phyſicians on the other ſide are ſhut up as cloſe by the Obligation of their Faculty, having all of them ſworn ſecrecy to *Hippocrates*. Neither is it indeed at firſt ſight probable that if he were ſo obnoxious to them, one of *ſo ſweet a Nature* ſhould ſo openly declare himſelf againſt the Non-conformiſts. Had he been cured by a *Few*, ſo great a Prince as the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity* would ſurely, either out of his Clemency or his Wiſdom, have been gracious to the whole Tribe, and for his Doctors ſake have at leaſt conniv'd at their Synagogue. He is not the firſt that *Phyſ.* has whiſper'd

out

Rehearſal Comedy. p. 17, 18.

out of his Kingdom: And yet if he thought the matter once ſecured from diſcovery, I queſtion much whether any other tie could hold him. For I know none ſo looſe from all the reſtrictions of Humanity as ſome within his Girdle, and were there a Court of Faculties for that purpoſe he could not take out more ample diſpenſations from common Ingenuity and Gratitude. So that there could not have been more conformity betwixt the Perſon and the Diſeaſe, and an *Implacable Divine* could never be better fitted than with that diſtemper which his *Italian* Author can tell him does ſometimes make Truce, but never admits a Pacification. But he is I perceive a very *Secret one*, in another ſenſe then formerly, and perhaps did only publiſh his malady, the better to diſguiſe it: So that I will not out of reſpect preſs this Point further. If he ſhould by giving ſo partial an account fail of a Cure, he is the more excuſable; for it will have been the firſt time that his Modeſty did him prejudice. Yet this caution for humanity's ſake

Fa tregua ma non mai pace.

ſake I would leave with him; that he truſt not too much to the Aſſes Milk in his *Hieringills Diſpenſatory*; for every one knows that if he have no better Specifick, he will ever and anon be troubled with the Reliques. *Grec. p.* 119

But whatever old miſchief may poſſibly lurk in his Body, I am told by one, who pretends to the beſt intelligence, that this was a new Diſeaſe, which ſpred much through the Nation about laſt Autumn. I hear not that any dyed of it, and therefore its name is not yet read of in the Bills of Mortality. To be ſhort, as I am certainly inform'd, he was ſick of *the Rehearſal Tranſpros'd*. Then indeed the *Rehearſal Tranſpros'd* deſerv'd a *Reproof*, for exceeding its Commiſſion, I am ſorry it that ſhould occaſion a diſtemper, which I ordered as Phyſick; the *Rehearſal Tranſpros'd* being too only a particular preſcription in his caſe, and not to be applyed to others without ſpecial direction. But ſome curious perſons would be licking at it, and moſt Men finding it not diſtaſtful to the

Palate, it grew in a ſhort time to be of common uſe in the Shops. I perceive that it wrought a ſenſible alteration in all that took it; but varying in ſome for the better, in others for the worſe, according to the difference of their Complexions. Some were ſwoln up to the Throat, ſome their Heads turn'd round, and others it made their Hearts ake; but all theſe were but a few in number; moſt Men found only a little tingling in their Ears, and after its greateſt violence it diſcharged it ſelf in an innocent fit of unceſſant laughter. But the greateſt harm it did was to the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, for whoſe good it was principally intended: For before he had half taken it, his ſpirits began to fail him, and it put him paſt not only *the common drudgeries* of Preaching and reading Prayers; but thoſe other things too which he ſtiles *the innocent comforts of Humane life.* So that he laid it by for a conſiderable time, and was reſolv'd to have taken no more of it; finding it ſo contrary to his Nature. In that interval,

val, his Humours being ſtir'd, the pre-domineering Choler in a ſhort time diffus'd it ſelf ſo through his Body Eccleſiaſtick, that it ſtruck him into a deep Jaundice; and his Soul ſeem'd to have ſet up a guilt Vehicle of the new Lacker. The great little Animal was on a ſudden turn'd ſo Yellow, and grown withall ſo unwieldy, that he might have paſt current for the Elephant upon a Guinny. For as he had long ſince foretold, *having been ſo inconſiderate as to write Books, and fain ſo lately under the ſevere taſh of one that knew him not*, it was his concurring misfortune to be now *expoſed to the ſeverer commands of thoſe that knew him.* The cauſe was at preſent much altered from what in his Preface to Biſhop *Bramhall*, and over and above the importunity of the Bookſeller, he was now obliged to write in Canonical obedience. But his Yellow Coate rendred him very unfit to appear in publick, and being troubled thus with the Jaundice, and under a neceſſity of exerciſing at the ſame time all the remainders yet left him of Reaſon,

Conf. Pl. Phil. p. 1.

Wit or Invention, 'tis probable that he found indeed cause to complain of a dull and lazy distemper, and now too late repented, *that he had sold himself into so great a slavery.* However having driven himself into that Condition he must now needs go through with his task, and therefore the time too being limited, he hastened to bring himself in plight by such common remedies as were next to hand, writing too all the while by girds and snatches hand over head. His other self *Hicringill* (who seems very well informed of all his distempers, and of this particularly) had told him that a Louse was good against the Jaundice, and the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Policy* himself had for all Events the *Sacrament of Lousiness* by him of his own preparation: So that this being much easier to be procured then the Tribute of Fleas was to be collected, there is no doubt to be made, but that he tryed the Vertue of this Medicine. And as the *Tartars* cracking the same Vermine with their Teeth, are used to wish solemnly

Cens. Pl. Pbil. p. 1

Rep. p. 112.

lemnly, that they had their Enemies at the like advantage; ſo methinks I ſee how he ſnapp'd them e're they got down, and ever anon prayed betwixt the teeth for the Non-conformiſts. But he had heard how his old acquaintance Doctor *Rabelais*, upon examination for his degree, anſwer'd, that if his *Gargantua* were ſick, he would preſcribe him *Pilulas Evangelicas, ex centum libris Aloes & Myrrhæ*. He computed thence, that in his own caſe the Doſe muſt be proportionable betwixt the Civil and the Eccleſiaſtical Giant. And if ſo, that though all Priſons ſhould be depopulated, though *Beggars-buſh* pillag'd, though the *Phthiriaſes* of all former perſecutors revived, yet the quantity would not be ſufficient: But as once the Incenſe of all *Arabia* was ſpent on one Funerall, ſo the Lice of all the World muſt be conſumed upon his malady: But what he moſt conſider'd was, that this muſt neceſſarily end in an utter diſſolution of the Government of the *Phthirophagi*, and that contrary to all good Eccleſiaſtical Po-

lity, the *Presidents of the sacred Rites* (for the other orders of Men 'twas less matter) should in reference to his cure be depriv'd of that *lean and slender subsistence* which was yet left them. This would have been a Sacrilege greater, because more universal than to have rifled the Louse out of St. *Francis* his Bosom. So that upon this *Algebra* and prospect, he desisted at last from the Lousy Diet, part out of his good Nature, part out of his Conscience, and partly out of Impossibility. And had he at the same time betaken himself in good earnest to the *Extractum Apostoli* of Faith, Hope, and Charity, as a *Succedaneum*, (for even his
Grig. p. 93 second *Kalelais*, Doctor *Hickringill* renders them equivalent to a Louse) he had been certainly cured both Mind and Body. But some doubt there is that his
Rop. p. 21. *Shop-Divines* have not the right Composition of that medicine. However he was not now in case or disposition to take it; and the *Rebeal Transpos'd*, which after many a grimasse he had now at last gulp'd down, had so terribly disorder'd him, that he had quite for-

got

got there was any ſuch remedy in the ancient *Praxis* of Chriſtianity. But this Gentleman of *Sotam*, if you will believe him, *and ſoftly an Humour of ſo cold a Complexion, that he Scarſe thinks himſelf capable of hot and paſſionate impreſſions*; he that is only offended at *them who will not ſuffer themſelves to be embraced by thoſe whoſe unbounded embraces would comprehend all*, and *quanquam alias præmitis ſit indolis*, was altered beyond all imagination. I cannot determine whether I being but a new unlicenſed Practitioner, and the *Rehearſal Tranſpros'd* my firſt experiment, there might be ſome errour in the preparation, and it were too *ſtrong of the Mineral*, or whether indeed it were the extraordinary foulneſs of his Stomack. But it hath brought up ſuch ulcerous ſtuff as never was ſeen; and whereas I intended it only for a *Diaphoretick* to caſt him into a breathing ſweat, it hath had upon him all the effects of a Vomit. Turnep-tops, Frogs, rotten Eggs, Braſs-coppers, Graſhoppers, Pins, Muſhromes, *&c.* wrapt up together in ſuch balls of Slime

Preſt to Ec. Pol. p. 1.

Cenſ. Pl. Phil. p. 25.

Tent. Phyſ. p. 109.

and Choler, that they would have burſt the Dragon, and in good earneſt ſeem to have ſomething ſupernatural. Inſomuch that he ſeems not ſo fit at preſent for the Archdeacons Seat as to take his place below in the Church among the *Energumeni*. But it is poſſible that after ſo notorious an evacuation, he may do better for the future; and it is more then viſible that either his Diſeaſe or his Nature cannot hold out much longer. Therefore I ſhall not grudge from time to time to lend him my beſt aſſiſtance, though I hope that this Iteration will do his buſineſs, and carry off all the dregs of his diſtemper. And now from what I have ſaid hitherto, and that I may begin ſo far an accommodation betwixt us, I ſhall if he pleaſe recant and yield that the *aſſwaging his Concupiſcenſe, and wreaking his malice, has been the higheſt Pinacle of his Eccleſiaſtical in-felicity.*

Having treated him in as ſhort a method as ſo Chronical a malady would admit, I ſhall now be inforced to remove ſome dirt, that I may make

make my way cleaner to come at him: for otherwiſe there is no paſſing, but then I ſhall quickly have diſpatch'd with him. He ſaith, *I have cowardly and diſhonourably accoſted him in ſuch a clownish and licentious a way of Writing as I knew to be unſuitable both to the Civility of his Education, and the Gravity of his Profeſſion.* Repr. p. 1: I thought I had in the cloſe of my former book, and all thorow ſufficiently ſatisfy'd him of the reaſons and way of my proceeding with him: but ſeeing he hath it ſeems ſo ſoon forgot them (as men willingly do, what it is grievous to remember) I ſhall now at more leiſure refreſh his memory, and deduce the order of my thoughts upon that and this occaſion.

Thoſe that take upon themſelves to be Writers, are moved to it either by Ambition or Charity: imagining that they ſhall do therein ſomething to make themſelves famous, or that they can communicate ſomething that may be delightful and profitable to mankind. But therefore it is either

way

way an enviou- and dangerous imployment. For, how well ſoever it be intended, the World will have ſome pretence to ſuſpect, that the Author hath both too good a conceit of his own ſufficiency, and that by undertaking to teach them, he implicitly accuſes their ignorance. So that not to Write at all is much the ſafer courſe of life: but if a mans Fate or *Genius* prompt him otherwiſe, 'tis neceſſary that he be copious in matter, ſolid in reaſon, methodical in the order of his work; and that the ſubject be well choſen, the ſeaſon well fixd, and, to be ſhort, that his whole production be matur'd to ſee the light by a juſt courſe of time, and judicious deliberation. Otherwiſe, though with ſome of theſe conditions he may perhaps attain commendation; yet without them all he cannot deſerve pardon. For indeed whoſoever he be that comes in Print whereas he might have ſate at home in quiet, does either make a Treat, or ſend a Chalenge to all Readers; in which caſes, the firſt, it concerns him

him to have no ſcarcity of Proviſions, and in the other to be compleatly Arm'd: for if any thing be amiſs on either part, men are ſubject to ſcorn the weakneſs of the Attaque, or laugh at the meanneſs of the Entertainment. In concluſion, the Author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* hath in his own particular very fully ſtated and comprehended this whole matter. For he ſaith here in his Preface to the Reader, that *if his Book have any effect* (I ſuppoſe he means any good effect) *he hath a double reward*; (that is both the publick and his private ſatisfaction; *but if it have none* (that is impoſſible) *that then he hath his own reward*; (that is ſure to be accounted none of the wiſeſt) and indeed this Reward too is double; for if he fails of his deſign, he ſaith *he muſt confeſs that he has loſt both his Labour and his Underſtanding*. This is the common condition to which every man that will Write a Book muſt be content with patience to ſubmit. *Pref. to Rep. p. penult.* *Pref. Rep. p. ult.*

But, among all the differences of writing, he that does publiſh an Invective,

ctive, does it at his utmoſt peril, and 'tis but juſt that it ſhould be ſo. For a mans Credit is of ſo natural and high concernment to him, that the preſerving of it better, was perhaps none of the leaſt inducements at firſt to enter into the bonds of Society, and Civil Government; as that Government too muſt at one time or other be diſſolved where mens Reputation cannot be under Security. 'Tis dearer than life it ſelf, and (to uſe a thought ſomething perhaps too delicate, yet not altogether unreaſonable) if beſide the Laws of Murther men have thought fit, out of reſpect to humane nature, that whatſoever elſe moves to the death of man ſhould be forfeit to pious uſes, why ſhould there not as well be Deodands for Reputation? And this I intend not only of thoſe who publiſh ignominious falſhoods, to whom no Quarter ought to be granted, but even of ſuch partly who by a truth too officious ſhall procure any mans infamy. For 'tis better that evil men ſhould be left in an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of

their

their repute, how unjuſtly ſoever they may have acquired it, then that the Exchange and Credit of mankind ſhould be univerſally ſhaken, wherein the beſt too will ſuffer and be involved It is one thing to do that which is juſtifiable, but another that which is commendable, and I ſuppoſe every prudent Writer aims at both: but how can the Author of an Invective, though never ſo truely founded, expect approbation (unleſs from ſuch as love to ſee miſchief at other mens expence) who, in a world all furniſhed with ſubjects of praiſe, inſtruction and learned inquiry, ſhall ſtudiouſly chuſe and ſet himſelf apart to comment upon the blemiſhes and imperfections of ſome particular perſon? Such men do ſeldom miſs too of *their own reward*: for whereas thoſe that treat of innocent and benign argument are repreſented by the *Muſes*, they that make it their buſineſs to ſet out others ill-favouredly do paſs for *Satyres*, and themſelves are ſure to be perſonated with prick-ears, wrinkled horns, and cloven feet,

Yet

Yet if for once to write in that ſtile may be lawful, diſcreet or neceſſary, to do it a ſecond time is lyable to greater Cenſure. Not ſo much becauſe the After-meath ſeldom or never equals the firſt Herbage; (a Caution not unfit however for all Authors) as that by-ſtanders will begin then to ſuſpect, that what they look'd on firſt as an accident with ſome divertiſement, do's rather proceed from a natural malignity of temper. For few Readers are ſo ill natured but that they are quickly tired with perſonal and paſſionate diſcourſes; and when the conteſt comes to be continued and repeated, if they intereſs themſelves at all, they uſually incline think that the juſtice lies on the weaker ſide. But whether the laſt appeal of Writers lie to the Readers or to a Mans own ultimate Recollection, this Invective way cannot be truly ſatisfactory either to themſelves or others. For it is a prædatory courſe of life, and indeed but a privateering upon reputation; wherein all that ſtock of Credit, which an honeſt Man perhaps hath all his age been

been toyling for, is in an hour or two's reading plunder'd from him by a Free-booter. So that whatsoever be the success, he that chances in these Contests to be Superiour, can at best (for that too is disputable) be accounted of the two the less unfortunate. And certainly (as it was usual of old for any Man who had but casually acted in an unlucky rencounter) he that hath had his Pen once in the Reputation of another, ought to withdraw, and disappear for some time till he has undergone and past through all the Ceremonies of Expiation.

But if the Credit of all Men whatsoever be, and ought to be so well guarded both by Nature, Law, and Discretion, the Clergy certainly of all others ought to be kept and preserv'd sacred in their Reputation. For they being Men of the same Spirit with others, and no less subject to Humane Passions but confined within the regularity of their Function: It is indeed unmanly, what ever scuffle others may make among themselves, to vilifie or treat them with those affronts